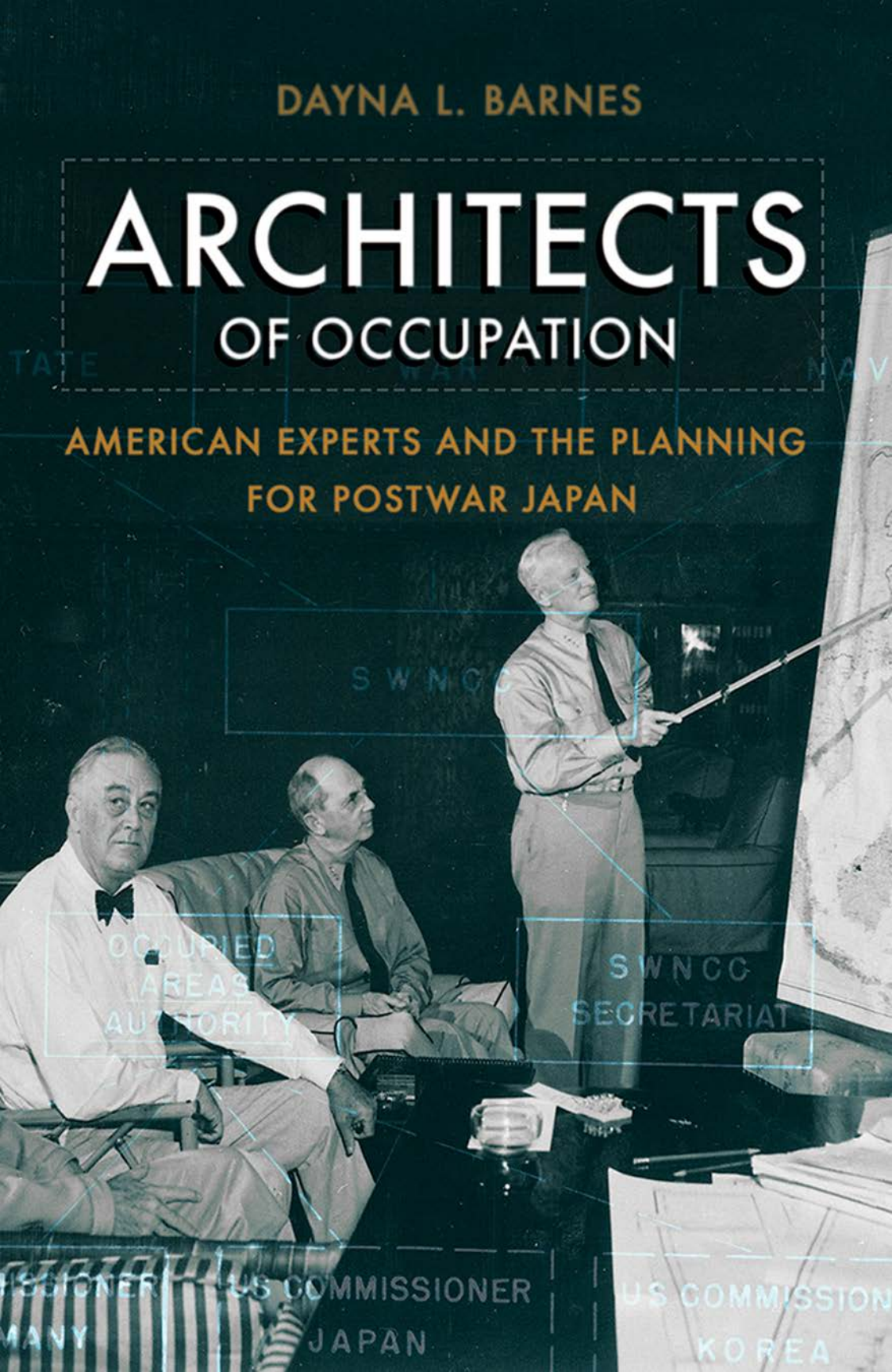
DAYNA L. BARNES

ARCHITECTS OF OCCUPATION

AMERICAN EXPERTS AND THE PLANNING FOR POSTWAR JAPAN



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American Experts and the Planning for Postwar Japan

Dayna L. Barnes

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Cover: Photograph of Franklin D. Roosevelt in conference with General Douglas MacArthur, Admiral Chester Nimitz, and Admiral William D. Leahy, while on tour in the Hawaiian Islands, September 1944 (courtesy of the U.S. Navy) and declassified chart pertaining to occupied areas authority in connection with other U.S. government agencies, 1945 (courtesy of the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library).

In memory of Linda Barnes

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Timeline

1937	**July**	Second Sino-Japanese War begins
	October	Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech" against Japanese aggression
1939	**September**	World War II begins in Europe
		War and Peace Studies Project begins
1940	**September**	Tripartite Pact—Japan joins the Axis powers
1941	**April**	Neutrality Pact signed between Japan and the Soviet Union
	August	Atlantic Charter
	December	Attack on Pearl Harbor; America and Japan enter the war
1942	**May**	Surrender of Allied forces in the Philippines
	June	Battle of Midway
		Office of War Information created
	August	Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) conference at Princeton
	December	IPR conference at Mont Tremblant
1943	**January**	Casablanca conference
	November	Cairo conference
	November–December	Tehran conference
1944	**May**	PWC 108 planning document finalized
	September	Quebec conference
1945	**January**	State War Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) created
		Roosevelt's fourth term begins
		IPR conference at Hot Springs, Virginia
	February	Yalta conference
	March	Battle at Iwo Jima
	April	Roosevelt dies
		Battle at Okinawa
	May	V-E day—war ends in Europe
	June	UN Charter signed
		SWNCC 150 policy draft approved

July	Potsdam conference
August	Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki
	Russia declares war on Japan
	V-J day, Japan surrenders
September	Occupation of Japan begins

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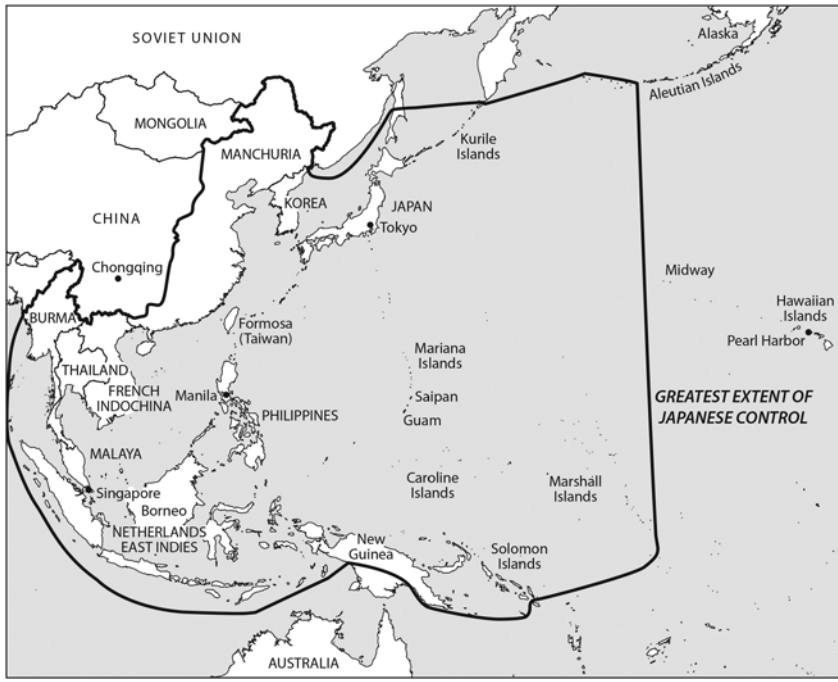

Greatest extent of Japanese advance, 1942

Introduction

BEHIND THE CURTAIN

But once the battle is won, where are we?

—Kent Cooper, executive director, Associated Press, December 8, 1944

The international system in East Asia failed in the 1930s. After the internationally condemned Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the outbreak of a Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the prospects for stability were dim. Four years later, Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor ended American neutrality and united the Asian conflict with World War II.

Even as now-famous battles were being fought from Midway to Okinawa, Japanese aggression against its neighbors and the United States raised questions for the future. How could a stable peace be created in the Pacific? If imperial Japan, the most powerful country in Asia, were defeated, what might replace its regional dominance? What had caused Japanese militarism, and how could its resurgence be prevented? What would become of its colonies? Groups of American policymakers struggled to answer these questions. This book tells their story.

By looking at planning for Japan during the Second World War, we learn about the causes of war and the construction of peace. We also learn about military occupations. With what intentions and what assumptions does one nation attempt to force a radical transformation on another? The greatest minds of that generation came together in government service to debate why nations go to war, and whether and how a lasting peace can be imposed on defeated parties. The case sheds light on how policy is made in a republican democracy. Planners came up against limitations when negotiating with other policymakers, politicians, and the constituent American public, and were limited by their own personal biases. The human quality of our political processes made the results of even an ideal planning process an imperfect compromise.

Between 1939 and 1945, American policymakers decided to reorient rather than punish postwar Japan. They hoped to transform the current enemy into a "responsible" international actor through a short American-led military occupation. The political, religious, and even linguistic makeup of an ancient and deeply patriotic nation would be changed. Imperial Japan's colonial possessions would be liberated or redistributed.

In some ways the ideas that emerged from the planning process were not new. Calls for revenge in victory echoed the destruction of Carthage by Rome in the second century BCE, during which Romans salted the earth so that nothing could grow again. The legal foundations of military occupation grew out of the Napoleonic Wars in early nineteenth-century Europe. Distinct from older conceptions of conquest and annexation, *occupatio bellica* offered a framework for temporary and limited sovereignty. Civilians owed obedience to occupiers, who in turn maintained basic state services and public order.[1] Plans for Japan were also both postimperial and postcolonial. Japan had been an empire, but plans for its treatment were informed by the experience of American imperialism in the Philippines, based as it was on the idea of a tutelage period to prepare a backward nation for independence by fostering American-style governance. In the context of war, American elites, many of whom had been involved in direct imperialism or in the "soft" imperialism of open door trade with China and missionary work, set out to decide what was best for Japan without consulting the Japanese.

In another way, the project was a departure from the past. The plans were crafted by an army of experts who took Japan's war aims seriously, and they represented more than mere benevolence in victory. Planners worked to find peaceful solutions to the problems of market access, national security, and population growth that they believed had driven Japan to a war of aggression. These men consciously rejected the approach of the Versailles peace conference after World War I, by which victors scrambled to claim spoils and punish the defeated powers, although Allied territorial claims were certainly also part of the war against Japan.

At the core of wartime plans was the idea that for peace to last, the Japanese themselves would have to be convinced that cooperation was in their best interest. International trade, driven by open access to friendly markets instead of imperialism, would become the path to Japan's future prosperity. American intervention was expected to remake Japan into a pacifist economic power supportive of a postwar American order.

This approach was neither predetermined nor obvious. The first drafts of policy were written outside the government by members of the Council on Foreign Relations and hashed out in think-tank planning forums throughout the war. A small group of specialists in the government worked with these

"unofficial officials" in think tanks and the media, drawing information and developing ideas with them. President Franklin Roosevelt, congressmen, popular media figures, and high-level officials all opposed the plan at different points. FDR regularly changed his mind on the subject, and planning was still a work in progress when he died in spring 1945. When Harry Truman took office, he adopted existing bureaucratic plans in an attempt to continue his predecessor's policy. It is unlikely that Roosevelt would have approved them. American policy on postwar Japan was in that way an accident of Roosevelt's death. Congress, the remaining body with the ability to check postwar plans, moved steadily toward supporting an active and internationalist orientation during the war and did not block liberal planning. Plans were set within this context by a small group of experts and elites in a country whose citizens displayed shocking ignorance about Asian affairs and a genuine hatred of Japan as a wartime enemy.

The Things They Carried

Japan was a "closed country" when America gained its independence from Great Britain in the eighteenth century. It had cut off diplomatic and trade relations with the rest of the world more than a hundred years before. US-Japanese relations began in the mid-nineteenth century when Commodore Matthew Perry and his black ships arrived and demanded, with an implied threat of force, that Japan open diplomatic relations. Five years later, in 1858, the United States and Japan signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, bringing the latter back into an international system it had chosen to avoid.

Japan presented a challenge to Western imperialism in Asia as it grew and developed into a major economic, military, and finally political power. At the end of the century Japan defeated China, the traditional Asian hegemon, in the First Sino-Japanese War. In 1905, it shattered the global image of European superiority by becoming the first non-European state to defeat a major European power, Russia, in combat. Japan's rise was also marked by expansionism. The country built its own empire and pursued growing interests across the mainland of Asia. By 1910 Japan held colonies in Korea and Formosa (Taiwan). It fought in World War I alongside Great Britain and the United States and also used the opportunity of conflict to expand its influence in China.[2]

At the start of the 1930s, a decade that would see China and Japan engaged in a second major war, the United States had interests and relations with both nations. America had championed the idea of an "open door" from the last year of the nineteenth century, which in theory freed China from colonization by allowing imperial powers equal access to its market. American businessmen and govern-

ment advisers expected national interests to grow, especially as China began to modernize under a pro-West, pro-business Nationalist government from 1928 onward. But links with already-modern and industrialized Japan were deep and well established. That country had become a world-class power and signatory to many major peaceful international agreements. Japan was a founding member of the League of Nations, a signatory to the Washington Naval Conference, and a long-standing ally of America's close political and cultural cousin, Great Britain. However, the early 1930s was marked by political chaos and abrupt changes in Japanese foreign policy. Japan invaded Manchuria, set up a puppet state there, and withdrew from the League of Nations in response to international censure. Even as this "Far Eastern crisis" expanded, business and trade links between Japan and the United States increased. Japan ranked as America's third largest trade partner, and in turn the United States provided a quarter of Japan's imports.[3]

The consistent, palpable public sympathy with China reflected in the American media before and during the Second Sino-Japanese War is therefore perhaps surprising. Ordinary Americans did not understand Japan's stake in Asian expansion. Rather, it appeared to the American public that "madness . . . led Japanese 'warlords' to embark on an aggressive quest for regional domination in the 1930s."[4] There was a popular perception that China was a victim of senseless aggression and that its large population and late development offered a huge potential economic and political benefit for the United States. As House Representative Will Rogers later explained to his fellow congressmen, "Half a billion paupers are no good as customers. But half a billion people starting to use radios and transparent plastic tooth brushes become a possibility for trade and material advancement." The need for reconstruction loans to repair war damage only increased China's potential value for American investors. Echoing the wartime sentiment of President Roosevelt, Rogers declared, "I want the United States to be closely allied with this coming giant."[5] The Sino-Japanese War created a struggle of loyalties and interests within the United States. The United States found itself in a position of materially supporting a conflict it morally opposed because wealthier Japan could purchase American war materials. This led to a series of embargoes on the sale of oil and iron to Japan, and, after failed negotiations in 1941, Japan's desperate decision to attack the American fleet.[6]

The early war phase was marked by rapid success for Japan. In 1942, America's former ambassador to Japan warned, "The strong Japan which had defeated us and our allies momentarily in the Far East has become Japanese East Asia. If Japan could defeat indomitable China, organize her present holdings, consolidate her position, Japan—not Germany, not Britain, not Russia, not ourselves—Japan could become the strongest power in the world."[7] Japan's war rhetoric of pan-Asianism, a vision of regional cooperation for development and

ending European imperial exploitation, presented a picture of the future fundamentally at odds with the interests of the United States.[8] At the same time, Japan's military victories weakened traditional Western powers in Asia as British, American, Dutch, and French colonies fell under Japanese control. These events sped up an existing global movement toward decolonization and national independence, while the fighting in Europe also dealt a major blow to the capabilities of those countries.[9] When the tide of war began to turn against Japan, the relative strength of the United States skyrocketed, and America became positioned to take a leading position in global affairs. The foundations of the postwar world were being laid.

Planners assumed that the United States would be able to reshape the coming world. Many believed along with Representative Rogers that "the Orient and the Pacific is still malleable. Its patterns and forms are still fluid. It is our actions, after this war, that will give the Orient the mold in which it will harden."[10] Traditional allies would be part of this new world, but consultation or cooperation with them on planning was very limited. As the powerful Asia expert Stanley Hornbeck wrote to the secretary of state about America's most important ally, "We are in a position to get from the British agreement to and cooperation in any reasonable course of action upon which we may choose to insist. . . . They are to a great degree dependent on us for their preservation."[11] Moreover, the Soviet Union did not enter the war against Japan until August 1945 and thus was not deeply involved in postwar planning beyond its interests in acquiring territory. Americans hoped to build a more stable and peaceful international system after hostilities ended. Free trade would take on an important role in global security as economies recovered from the war. Within this context, planners sought to create a disarmed, nonimperial, economically stable Japan, which would be firmly committed to the new international system. Imperial Japan surrendered in August 1945, and Americans began their occupation with the aim of creating a new ally from the ashes.

Structure and Approach

This book describes how a particular set of ideas came to define policy and focuses on American aims for Japan's place in the postwar world. It takes a thematic rather than chronological approach. Each chapter considers a different group of policymakers and how they fit into the larger policy network created during the war.

The first two chapters look at the Roosevelt administration and the bureaucratic agencies concerned with foreign policy, which were the major sources of

official planning. Franklin Roosevelt led wartime diplomacy, and his approval was required to turn plans into policy. His unilateral actions and mercurial ideas had a significant impact on postwar planning for Japan. Outside the White House, a small group of specialists in the State Department overcame interagency wrangling to dominate bureaucratic planning as they engaged with the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments. Those specialists crafted what became Japan policy.

The third and fourth chapters consider unofficial and quasi-official sources of policy planning. Think tanks and media opinion leaders became deeply enmeshed in the official planning process through wartime programs and publications. Social and professional connections amplified the voices of individuals in these groups, who were often invited to take part in government planning. A final official group, Congress, is the subject of chapter 5. While Congress itself did not have a significant part in Japan planning, its steady movement from isolationism to support for robust internationalism was a prerequisite to enacting the plans created elsewhere in government.

Chapter 6 breaks from the thematic approach and covers the period between April and September 1945. The final lines of policy were set in the months between the death of FDR and the start of postwar occupation. Harry Truman assumed the presidency, and planners scrambled to respond to rapidly unfolding events. After air raids on Tokyo and two atomic bombs, Japan surrendered sooner than expected, and a carefully planned land invasion proved unnecessary. Military planners took a more active role in policymaking as practical questions of occupation became pressing. Long-awaited Soviet movement into northern China, Japan, and Korea, and the weakness of Chinese fighting strength, meant that existing plans needed to be swiftly recalibrated. This final chapter connects the planning phase to implementation in the occupation period.

Wartime Planning in Context

Major existing histories of the occupation nod to a prewar planning period but have paid little attention to how and why occupation policy was created. Few other works consider wartime planning and relations with Japan in depth. Xiaoyuan Liu examined American and Chinese collaboration in postwar planning for Japan, which was limited by the weakness of Nationalist China. Rudolf Janssens's *What Future for Japan?* is a valuable resource for detailing the various channels of wartime policy planning, focusing on how race and culture influenced American ideas about Japan. John Dower and John Chappell considered race and cultural bias in the conduct of the Pacific war and touched on postwar implications. Marlene Mayo contributed a chapter on State Department wartime

planning to an edited volume on occupations. One aspect of the occupation, the creation of a new constitution for Japan, was traced back to its wartime planning origins in Dale Hellegers's award-winning *We, the Japanese People*. These works point to the exciting new avenues for understanding postwar events by examining the wartime planning period.[12]

Ideas are important in policymaking. Think tanks and opinion leaders deserve more attention in foreign policy analysis.[13] For that reason, half of this book is given over to the role of academics, intellectuals, and experts in wartime planning. These thinkers provided information and theoretical frameworks, or mental maps, to help policymakers make sense of their options.

The months after Roosevelt's death were decisive in history.[14] Like the moments before the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of the Soviet Union, this period was an uncertain, elastic time in which events might have developed in dramatically different ways.[15] American expert groups influenced government thinking and redefined national interests during World War II. They also had a rare opportunity to "decisively shape *other* states, and the larger system of international relations between them."[16] Planning for the treatment of Japan took place in the context of America's postwar expansionism, alongside the creation of global institutions like the United Nations Organization and Bretton Woods financial structures.[17] Members of the informal policy network created during the war were the architects of the occupation of Japan and the designers of the world system we know today.

1

FLIP-FLOPPER WITH THE FINAL SAY

Roosevelt and Japan

Discerning the foreign policy intentions of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is a notoriously difficult task. The president made conflicting statements and rarely gave clear indications of his postwar aims to his advisers. Roosevelt was also not an expert on East Asia, and Japan was not at the top of his agenda. Nonetheless, FDR considered identifying goals for the postwar world during the war to be "a very valuable thing."[1] Roosevelt explained in 1942 that he hoped the State Department planning project would provide him a basket of plans into which he could reach to find postwar policy at the end of the conflict.[2] Planning and speculation about postwar Japan in the government, media, and informed circles all fit neatly into this metaphor. Wartime discussions were meant not to set a definite course but to build a framework and make future decisions easier. As Roosevelt saw it, during the previous war victors had been left without clear agreed aims because not enough postwar planning had taken place. Instead, the participants of the Versailles peace conference that followed World War I had been like ladies packing at the last minute for a husband's trip. Every one, Roosevelt recalled, was "rushing around, grabbing things out of closets and throwing them into suitcases."[3] His new basket approach would be more orderly than the ill-considered frenzy that had created a failed peace in 1919.

Roosevelt's simple picture of the planning process was complicated by his own administrative style. The president was reluctant to consult or inform his official experts and advisers, creating a deep rift between the White House and the State Department. This rift in turn meant that Asia experts in the State Department, who would frame postwar actions, were isolated from actual policy made during

the war. Casually made commitments, preconceived ideas, irregular consultation with experts, and rivalry between would-be advisers marred long-range planning in the Roosevelt era.

Because FDR was expected to have the final word in deciding policy, any plans for the future developed by experts accommodated his decisions and opinions. It is a challenge to divine which policies Roosevelt considered pulling from the policy basket before his death. In the absence of clear evidence, the president's thinking can be pieced together from his favored sources of information and management of advisers, his postwar plans for Germany and China, his comments on Japan, and the commitments he made at international conferences.

Lack of communication between the president and bureaucratic planning groups led to divergence between the president's aims and policy drafts. However, Roosevelt supported the planner's work to provide him with a diverse set of options, and in so doing he allowed for the development of a policy-creating network during the war. After Roosevelt's unexpected death, his successor inherited the policies created by that network.

Sources of Information and Analysis

Roosevelt's management created an atmosphere of policy confusion that characterized postwar planning. Roosevelt rarely spoke frankly with his advisers, who as a result could not incorporate his feedback into their work. In 1940 Ambassador Joseph Grew requested information on the president's thinking on Japan. The country, Grew wrote, had veered toward militarism, waged a war of aggression in China, and appeared to be on a collision course with the United States. The ambassador needed to understand his president's views in order to calibrate American policy on the ground. In his understated manner, Grew wrote that without this information, he "at times . . . felt just a little out on a limb here."[4] Roosevelt replied to this reasonable request with vague platitudes. "The problems we face," Roosevelt informed his ambassador, "are so vast and interrelated that any attempt even to state them compels one to think in terms of five continents and seven seas."[5] While perhaps true, such a comment left America's ambassador to Japan with very little in the way of guidance from Washington.

The president's relationships with official experts were also strained by his desire to find information through unusual channels. As Secretary of War Henry Stimson reflected in his diary, FDR's "ardent" enjoyment of getting "firsthand news . . . in an irregular way" was a "great mixture of good and bad qualities." This enthusiasm kept him engaged and supplied with fresh information. However, his preoccupation with getting an inside scoop caused him to undervalue

and even ignore the sort of "mature and solid information which comes from orderly processes through the regular channels." Stimson believed that this was an unfortunate habit that "we shall never be able to cure."[6] Officials exploited the president's ad hoc style of decision making and fascination with "outsider" information by sending him articles and reports, as well as making personal appeals in an attempt to shape Roosevelt's opinion. For example, Lauchlin Currie, the president's economic adviser and a China hand, wrote to a colleague that he had been "pushing, scheming, wrangling, bluffing and pleading all the time" to get support for the Chinese Nationalists.[7] Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau also privately resolved to "continue to feed the President suggestions" even when it appeared they would not be heeded.[8] Others asked the president's secretaries to "slip [documents] into his bag" and requested that aides forward items on to him.[9] While the approach of collecting bits of information informally gave the president varied information on the issues, his opinion was necessarily colored by the process. Roosevelt was vulnerable to novel ideas presented by enthusiastic favorites, and his sources lacked the context and thoughtfulness provided by formal processes.

With no clear channel between the president and his diplomatic corps at the State Department, the president was more likely to receive lengthy field reports from his personal envoys than from stationed embassy officials. Roosevelt had a habit of appointing personal ambassadors when he wanted "inside" information about situations in Europe and Asia. He encouraged foreign leaders to consider these men his "personal representatives" and to "to talk to them frankly." The presence of unofficial "ambassadors" with the mandate and ear of the president undermined the authority and mission of official ambassadors.[10] Although ambassadors and field officers in Asia sent reports back to Washington, these needed to pass from the chief of the division of Far Eastern affairs to the secretary of state and from there on to the president.[11] For such a document even to reach Roosevelt through normal channels, it needed to suit the interests of both the division chief and the secretary of state, which was no easy task. The former ambassador to Japan later recalled that "reporting to our Government was like throwing pebbles into a lake at night; we were not permitted to see even the ripples."[12] Although after December 1941 the point was moot for the embassy in Japan, this structural bias remained important to Roosevelt's understanding of the complicated issue of the internal situation in China. The president's predilection for sending personal ambassadors provided him with observations from brief visits abroad instead of reports from officials with more experience in the region. This gave him an understanding of distant countries based largely on anecdotal observations rather than expert analysis.

The president's support of favorites and his tendency to play staff members against each other left his advisers frustrated and confused.[13] FDR on occasion enthusiastically adopted new policies that he "handed down" as ready-made decisions "that brooked no rebellion."[14] He also encouraged rivalry. His decision-making process often consisted of setting up a quarrel and then deciding the best course after hearing both sides, a practice that drove officials "absolutely stark, staring mad."[15] Roosevelt so preferred Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles to Secretary of State Cordell Hull that the former was widely recognized as the unofficial secretary until the end of his career.[16] As a result of such behavior, Hull openly considered resignation at least twice, complaining that he was "constantly affronted and made unhappy by having . . . somebody . . . spring a fast diversion in foreign policy over his head, and finding out that the President stood by some favorite."[17] In an egregious example of this, Roosevelt in 1944 suddenly adopted Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau's radical plan to transform postwar Germany into an agrarian society after lunching with him. The president maintained his support for the plan over vocal protests from his cabinet and in spite of the fact that the plan contradicted a consensus on postwar Germany created by years of planning. Hull considered this "a repudiation." A colleague reported that the secretary was "worried sick and had not slept for two or three nights" as a result of the president's poor management.[18]

Although Roosevelt abandoned Morgenthau's plan as quickly as he had adopted it, the incident illustrated the "chaotic" nature of the administration because Roosevelt would easily "sign any paper . . . presented to him by one of his advisers without waiting for the criticism and counsel of the others."[19] Later, when Hull did resign, the president selected the younger and weak-willed Ed Stettinius to replace him. Roosevelt informed Stettinius that he had considered James Byrnes, a powerful and well-qualified senator, for the position but that he had decided on Stettinius because "Jimmy might question who was boss." Stettinius agreed to take the position, tactically conceding that the president had sole decision-making power in the realm of foreign policy, on the condition that Roosevelt keep the State Department better informed of his plans.[20] There is little evidence that even this small promise was kept.

Roosevelt's management of his advisers in Washington caused confusion and uncertainty. The president viewed the foreign policymaking process as selecting among the recommendations of his advisers, both formal and informal, as he saw fit. This practice caused problems within the administration. FDR's refusal to consult and collaborate led to a disconnection between official planning and his own thinking. As Hull dryly observed, "The President runs foreign affairs. I don't know what's going on."[21] Dean Acheson, assistant secretary of state during the war, later argued that by excluding the secretary of state from his formulation

of strategy, Roosevelt created a State Department whose planning process was "theoretical and unreal . . . absorbed in platonic planning of a utopia."[22] While this book argues that the postwar planning process for Japan did create a solid set of useful and flexible postwar aims, it is certainly true that planners worked in a vacuum, unaware of executive thinking or the relevant international commitments into which the president had entered. Without any assurance that the policies resulting from the bureaucratic planning process would not be cast aside by presidential prerogative after the war, planners must also have felt they were casting stones into a lake at night.

China as Great Power and Ally

Roosevelt was more vocal about his hopes for postwar China than about his thoughts on Japan. Because it was assumed that China would take on the role of leading Asian power and would cooperate with American interests, postwar Japan could be marginalized. From 1942, the administration supported the idea that a collective security system maintained by an international police force should be created after the war.[23] President Roosevelt took this idea a step further. As he explained in the spring of 1943, he hoped to achieve the goal of disarmament that had failed after the First World War. To his way of thinking, America, Britain, Russia, and China would act as a "world police" while the other powers disarmed, with the eventual goal of universal disarmament.[24] The president was a vocal advocate for China's future place as a member of the "big four." In 1943 Roosevelt stated in a closed meeting that he "thought that China might become a very useful power in the Far East to help police Japan and that he wanted to strengthen China in every possible way." Such support was crucial, as Roosevelt was opposed to the idea of long-term expensive American military commitments abroad.[25] This plan limited the potential role that Japan might play in the postwar world and explains why Roosevelt so rarely discussed Japan's future.

Roosevelt's personal connections to China help explain his faith in the future of US-China relations. His maternal grandfather, Warren Delano, had made his fortune in trading tea and opium as a businessman in Canton in the previous century.[26] Indeed, the president's mother had lived in Hong Kong for several years as a young girl. As a child, young Franklin was treated to stories about his mother's life there, and the house in which he grew up was decorated with artifacts from his grandfather's period in China.[27]

Roosevelt's adult views were likely influenced by the pro-China sentiment prevalent in the popular media in the 1920s and 1930s and American support for the Open Door policy.[28] In 1923, he admitted that it was often difficult for

Americans (a group in which he presumably included himself) to see the Japanese perspective on international events because of a widely held pro-Chinese attitude.[29] It was believed that the Nationalist regime (KMT) had a deep affinity with American interests and values. The KMT defined itself in opposition to three other domestic political forces: the imperial dynasty that had collapsed in the revolution of 1912, the chaos and warlordism that the party had overcome to assume power in 1926, and its major political rival, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Thus, Nationalist China tied its political legitimacy to the idea of a unified China marked by a stable, rule-based political system that was opposed to "despotism" and communism. This model of modernism seemed to harmonize with the American ideals of democracy and free trade, especially given the significant number of American-educated Chinese officials within the party.[30] The Roosevelts also enjoyed a good relationship with China's first couple, the Chiangs, who were popular Westernized figures in the United States.[31] Finally, Allied portrayal of China as a great power could provide "rhetorical compensation" against Japanese wartime propaganda depicting the war as a struggle for Asian liberation from foreign domination.[32] Such factors were reinforced by the pro-Chinese bias held by many of Roosevelt's close advisers, including Lauchlin Currie; the State Department's most powerful Asianist, Stanley Hornbeck; and Secretary of War Henry Stimson. For example, in 1943 Roosevelt was assured by an adviser that Chiang would "follow your leadership" because China favored "democracy and liberty . . . [as] opposed to the principals of imperialism and communism."[33] China seemed a natural ally to the United States.

Roosevelt's support for China and the KMT remained a driving force for the country's inclusion on the list of great future powers throughout the war. In 1942, at an Anglo-American meeting on postwar problems initiated by the president, FDR sought to build a consensus on China's future status as "one of the four controlling powers after the war."[34] Although an agreement was reached at this and other meetings, the British were never fully convinced of China's viability as a great power, which the prime minister referred to as "the great American illusion."[35] Roosevelt and his top advisers continued to support China as one of the four great powers even as it became increasingly unstable.[36] At the Tehran Conference in fall 1943, Roosevelt qualified his support for China in conversation with the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin. He explained that he understood the current weakness of China but continued support out of consideration for the long-term potential of the country.[37] Thus, even while troubles in China became apparent, the United States remained its champion among the Allies.

Roosevelt's administration began to consider working with rivals to Chiang's leadership in the face of mounting evidence of corruption and incompetence within China's Nationalist government. Reaching out to Chiang's rivals within the

KMT and to leaders in the Communist Party would provide the basis for continued Sino-American relations in case of a coup, civil war, or the collapse of Chiang's regime. In 1944 and 1945, officials had a remarkably ambivalent attitude toward Chinese communism, and many reports crossed the president's desk that frankly enumerated the faults of the ruling party.[38] Chinese communists were often described as having strong morale and solid public support gained through practical reforms.[39] As a result of the failure of the KMT to absorb the competing political forces into a unified government, American officials began to stress a more flexible approach to the Chinese leadership. As early as May 1944, officials suggested showing "a sympathetic interest in the Communists and liberal groups in China" because the present leadership rendered China "too weak to serve as a possible counter-weight to Russia." Communist and leftist groups would be an important force in any democratic China and, it was believed, would "naturally gravitate" to the United States.[40] Shortly before his death, Roosevelt demonstrated both his frustration with the KMT and his willingness to consider alternatives to Chiang by writing a cordial letter to the leader of the Communist group, Mao Tse-tung.[41]

In practice, rather than abandoning support for Chiang's regime, Americans approached the conflict between the KMT and CCP with a mix of aid and good offices. Policymakers such as Roosevelt and Hull argued that solid American backing, rhetorical and financial, was the best chance for stabilizing Chiang's leadership.[42] China's continued resistance to Japan was vital to America's war effort in the Pacific. Beyond its value in fighting the Japanese, Chinese cooperation with Western powers undermined Japanese war propaganda about ending European imperialism and creating an "Asia for Asiatics."[43] This was particularly important after Japan granted rhetorical independence to former British, American, and Dutch territories. It would have been a severe blow to the Allies had China surrendered or allowed the creation of a puppet state as France had done in Europe.[44] A strong, politically unified China was the best safeguard against such an eventuality and a compelling reason to sideline Chiang's rivals, none of whom offered the hope of a legitimate alternative to the current government.

China's role as a military ally became less important as the American island-hopping campaign built up momentum in early 1944.[45] By summertime, attacks on the central Pacific islands had put the Allies within bombing range of Japan proper using B-29 aircraft. American troops could close in on Japan through islands in the Pacific, shifting the focus of strategic plans away from mainland Asia.

This new situation corresponded with a low ebb in US-China relations, as American generals voiced criticism of Chiang's commitment to and value in the present war. American army planners argued that the war with Japan would be over before the Chinese army was properly trained and equipped through aid

FIGURE 1.1. Franklin D. Roosevelt in conference with General Douglas MacArthur, Admiral Chester Nimitz, and Admiral William D. Leahy, while on tour in the Hawaiian Islands, September 1944. Courtesy of US Navy, Wikimedia Commons.

and lend-lease.[46] China was thus marginalized in wartime military plans. However, the existing consensus and lack of support for any alternative resulted in policy inertia over the China issue. Although forced to consider the real possibility of China's descending into civil war, Roosevelt maintained his faith and support in Chiang's regime and a strong postwar China that could share the burden of building peace and stability in the region. The position of the United States in regard to China at the end of the war thus remained one of cautious but committed support.[47] Until the end of his life, Roosevelt argued that despite its current weakness, China would unite and modernize to assume leadership of the entire area that Japan had tried to seize.[48]

The Case of Germany

For President Roosevelt and others, learning the supposed lessons of the First World War was the key to the prevention of future conflict. Roosevelt tied the

treatment of Japan to his ideas about Germany. Europe, and by extension Germany, was culturally and geographically closer to the frame of reference of the president, whose Dutch heritage was tied to his identity.[49] Roosevelt had a further connection that was important to his thinking on Germany. As a boy he had taken a bicycle trip around the country and often cited this as evidence of his deep understanding of the German people.[50] He had little such firsthand experience to ground his impressions of the Japanese. In a 1944 speech Roosevelt linked the postwar occupations of Germany and Japan to "the 1918 situation," in which Germany had avoided occupation through surrender. Because Berlin had successfully "dodged" occupation and had gone on to create a new conflict, after the current war Germany and Japan would be occupied by Allied troops "regardless of when or how they surrendered."[51] Japan's fate was thus sealed by the imagined lessons learned from the behavior of the Germans after the Great War, a war in which Japan had fought against Germany alongside the United States and Great Britain.[52]

The president's adoption of the Morgenthau plan was another link between Japan and Germany. As noted above, in August 1944 Roosevelt suddenly embraced his treasury secretary's enthusiasm for inflicting punishment on the German, and by extension the Japanese, people. This was a radical shift from existing policy. Up to that point, postwar planning for Germany had been similar to the planning for Japan discussed in the next chapter. It was assumed that postwar Germany, with its large and productive population and strong industrial capacity, would play a part in rebuilding Europe, and similar plans were developed for Japan in Asia.[53] Under the new plan, Germany would be stripped of its industrial potential, reducing the country to an agricultural economy and removing it from future economic or political power in Europe. This entirely contradicted the consensus created in the planning groups but had some precedent in Roosevelt's thinking. In 1943 Roosevelt, ignoring the debate within bureaucratic planning groups about whether heavy industry would be needed to sustain the Japanese economy, drew up his own memorandum on postwar aviation. Policing would be needed to make sure that neither the Germans nor the Japanese were able to "fly anything larger than one of those toy planes that you wind up with elastic."[54] Japan experts believed that crushing industry and impoverishing the country would undermine future security by fueling desperation and radicalism. A Japan reliant on trade, by contrast, would be tied into the regional system and would support postwar rehabilitation throughout the region.[55] Roosevelt did not agree.

FDR's support of the Morgenthau scheme lasted only a few weeks, during which time he signed up to the policy, brought Morgenthau to an international conference in Quebec to push for British support, and just as quickly denounced the plan after it received a negative response in the press.[56] However, the administrative

changes made in this brief window altered the planning process for Germany until the end of the war. The German bureaucratic planning subcommittee was replaced by a new group, the Informal Policy Committee on Germany (IPCOG), in order to include the Treasury Department in planning. Because Japan was not as pressing an issue for Morgenthau, the move to include Treasury in postwar planning for Japan did not come until much later and was successfully contained by officials in the State Department.[57]

Although the bureaucratic planning structure for Japan was not affected by Morgenthau's intervention into Germany policy, as long as Roosevelt supported the plan for Germany, he considered that it applied to Japan too. Without consulting other officials, he allowed his enthusiasm for the new German plan to override the recommendations of other advisers and experts on both countries. Morgenthau recorded the president's passionate support for a punitive peace in his diary. "You either have to castrate the German people," Roosevelt told him, "or you have to threaten them in such a manner that they can't just go on reproducing people who want to continue the way they have in the past." Morgenthau left the meeting with no doubt about FDR's support of the plan, even if the president's other advisers violently opposed it.[58] Roosevelt was convinced of the inherent militarism of the German people, arguing that uniforms, parades, and "marching of any kind" ought to be banned in postwar Germany to avoid future aggression.[59] The president also "used some example about Japan" to illustrate his support for the plan by "showing how tough he is going to be."[60] Without consulting Asia experts or other advisers, Roosevelt tied the Japanese to Morgenthau's plan for Germany.

Unwilling to devolve decision making to area specialists, Roosevelt based his plans for both countries on irregular sources of analysis and what he thought he knew about German people and history. Roosevelt was content to attach Japan to his prescriptions for Germany, despite the fact that Japan's rapid population growth and comparatively low agricultural output made the Morgenthau plan impossible to implement without the threat of mass starvation. Roosevelt, however, may not have been aware of the unsuitability of the Morgenthau plan for Japan. Although a report on the question had been approved and was the basis of further official planning for Japan's economy, Roosevelt did not read or request many reports from the bureaucratic planners. He would have been informed had he consulted the Asia specialists before adopting Morgenthau's plan.[61] Roosevelt's plans to strip Japan of its colonies, discussed below, would make it particularly vulnerable. Unlike Germany, which had a rich agricultural base, Japan's arable land was insufficient to feed its population.[62] It is clear from this that the president's policy direction for Japan, though not clearly articulated during the war, was based firmly on his mercurial and ill-suited plans for postwar Germany.

Defining Japan

Several factors suggest that racial bias was involved in Roosevelt's thinking about Japan. The president certainly believed that set characteristics were carried in the blood of peoples and races. His racial thinking on the Japanese began with his views on mixing that population with other races in the 1920s. Roosevelt supported the 1924 exclusion act, which had caused friction between the American and Japanese governments by banning Japanese immigration. He argued in a published column that such restrictions were justified because Japanese nationals could not assimilate with white Americans. "Mingling of Asiatic blood with European or American blood," he wrote, "produces in nine cases out of ten, the most unfortunate results." This was not, however, intended as a slight against "pure" Japanese, who he imagined would feel the same "repugnance" that he did at intermarrying or mixing populations.[63] His columns made a distinction between European immigrants, who were deemed to be useful in revitalizing American communities, and Asian immigrants, whose genetic influence would be detrimental to the future American population.[64] This idea that Europeans were able to assimilate, while Asians were not, demonstrated the perceived distance in culture and blood between Americans and Japanese. These were long-held beliefs, reflected in Roosevelt's writings over a period of years. A decade later, he privately observed that aggression was "in the blood" of the Japanese leadership.[65]

During the war, Roosevelt ordered funding for research on postconflict relocation for displaced groups around the world. This research, known as the M Project, considered "problems arising out of racial admixtures" resulting from moving populations. FDR was a product of a time in which scientific racism and the idea of a yellow peril held significant currency in American thought. As part of the project, he wrote an involved professor and asked him to consider whether the "less developed skulls" of the Japanese might explain their racial characteristic of "nefariousness."[66] Craniometry, which attempted to identify and explain behavioral traits by examining the shape of the head, was a trend within nineteenth-century scientific racism. If Japanese militarism was caused by racial flaws, rather than the social, political, or economic factors considered by Asia experts, peace could not be assured by social engineering. In such a case, a "hard peace" of repression and monitoring would be necessary.

Roosevelt's actions toward Japanese Americans provide a more mixed picture. Roosevelt considered the treatment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War in two different contexts, internment and military service. In 1936, fully five years before the United States and Japan went to war, FDR wrote to his chief of operations in Hawaii about identifying Japanese and Japanese Americans to be put on a list as "the first to be placed in a concentration camp in the event

of trouble."[67] Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt responded to a request by the secretary of navy to remove "people of Japanese blood" from the strategically important island of Oahu to another island "where they can be made to work for their living and produce much of their own food." Roosevelt agreed and added that he did "not worry about the constitutional question." Neither man referred to the Americans of Japanese ancestry as American citizens in this correspondence beyond Roosevelt's reference to constitutionalism but instead called for the evacuation and supervision of "Japanese."[68] When considering the question of Japanese American military service, however, Roosevelt took an entirely different position. He argued that any loyal American ought to be allowed to serve his country, as "Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry."[69] These two examples indicate that his treatment of Japanese Americans was a matter of expediency rather than moral conviction. Race was certainly an important issue in Roosevelt's thinking on Japan. However, his treatment of Japanese Americans and support for China suggest that racism was not an insurmountable feature ingrained in his thinking but could be overcome as a matter of convenience.

Roosevelt's personal knowledge of individual Japanese was to a great extent limited to his relationship with two men, Kichisaburo Nomura and Otohiko Matsukata. When Roosevelt wrote in 1925 that his position against Japanese immigration was not anti-Japanese, he noted that he knew "a great many cultivated, highly educated and delightful Japanese."[70] This is likely a reference to Matsukata and Nomura. Roosevelt met socially with Nomura, the Japanese naval attaché in Washington, during his service as assistant secretary of the navy. Nomura later became foreign minister and ambassador to the United States. Although the two maintained occasional correspondence until the mid-1930s, the relationship did not appear to affect Roosevelt's thinking on Japan as a nation. Otohiko Matsukata was more influential. He was a former classmate of Roosevelt's at Harvard, at the time the only Japanese national enrolled there. Although Matsukata had been a personal friend, the connection ironically helped to harden Roosevelt's later perception of Japanese foreign policy. As university students in 1902, Matsukata and Roosevelt had had a conversation about Japanese expansionism and plans for the conquest of Asia. After Japan's shift toward militarism in the 1930s, Roosevelt repeatedly recalled this discussion in private conversations, remarking that the Japanese "seem to be carrying out this plan."[71] Thus, speculative conversation between two young people came to serve an American president as evidence of a Japanese conspiracy for domination.

A people capable of holding on to secret plans made decades in advance would be a great threat to the postwar world, unlikely to be neutralized by military defeat alone. The president presented such a picture of Japanese history in

a speech before Congress in 1942. "Japan's scheme of conquest," he informed them, "goes back half a century. It is not merely a policy of seeking living room, it was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the islands of the Pacific."[72] In apportioning blame for Japan's aggression, Roosevelt made no distinction between leadership and the people. A study by the Office of War Information (OWI) found that the president differentiated between German leadership and the German people about 75 percent of the time, referring to "Hitler" and the "Nazis" as the enemy. By contrast, Roosevelt referred almost exclusively to "Japan" as a whole when mentioning the enemy. Other important figures in the administration, the secretary and undersecretary of state, and Harry Truman's predecessor as vice president, Henry Wallace, were more inclined to draw a distinction between the Japanese people and military leadership than was Roosevelt. They did so in about half of their references.[73]

In a campaign speech made in late summer 1944, Roosevelt specifically linked the acts of the Japanese government to the people. The Japanese could not be trusted, he informed a crowd of reporters, because "whether or not the people of Japan itself know and approve of what their warlords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to have been giving hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and military and economic control of as many other nations as they can get their hands on." Shortly before adopting the Morgenthau plan for Germany, Roosevelt publicly stated that after its surrender Japan must be "sealed off" from the rest of the world until it proved "willing and able to live with peaceful nations."[74] The question of separating ordinary people from their leaders was important in handling postwar treatment of enemy countries. "Indiscriminate hatred may be a mighty weapon," the report stated, "but it is likely to be impeding to a satisfactory peace."[75] Roosevelt's conflation of the Japanese people and government, along with his suspicions about Japanese racial characteristics, indicates that he supported a hard peace to punish and restrain the Japanese people after the war.

Wartime Conferences and International Agreements

While these ideas on postwar plans have been inferred from conversations, statements, and publications, Roosevelt's record on wartime commitments is clearer. He took direct control of policymaking at conferences and international agreements with America's allies, often to the exclusion of the State Department and other agencies.[76] Publicized announcements on the results of these conferences were the major source of popular understanding about postwar plans. Bureaucratic

planners, largely isolated from presidential thinking or approval, adjusted their recommendations to incorporate the public commitments made at international conferences. Although planners were unaware of some of the secret outcomes from these conferences, Roosevelt's international commitments became his biggest contribution to postwar planning. They formed the basis of public and world expectations.

The first such major contribution to postwar planning came while the United States was still neutral. The Atlantic Charter, signed by the American president and Britain's prime minister on August 14, 1941, publicly committed both countries to a set of common principles for the postwar world. Several of these principles would later be significant for the treatment of postwar Japan and the disposition of its territories. The section on international trade and resources was incorporated into bureaucratic planning and became an issue of contention among officials. The first and second of the Atlantic Charter principles rejected territorial aggrandizement and stated that any territory changes would be made in accordance "with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."[77] As seen below, these commitments would sit uncomfortably with Allied plans later in the war.

On occasion, the president made commitments privately without the knowledge of anyone in Washington. Shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Allied leaders anticipated the failure of US-Japanese negotiations to prevent conflict and assumed that Japan would strike out in order to gain access to new supplies. It was generally believed that the Japanese would press farther into Dutch or British possessions in Southeast Asia in search of oil. What the American response to such a move would be was unknown. In view of the strong isolationist and anti-imperialist sentiments in popular opinion, would the United States be reluctant to provide military support or declare war on Japan in defense of European colonies? The question was handled in a particularly Rooseveltian manner. On December 2, 1941, during a conversation with the British ambassador, the president "threw in an aside" that "we should obviously all be together" fighting Japan in case of an attack.[78] Roosevelt repeated this pledge to the ambassador two days later, but it appears that he never informed the members of his cabinet or other high-level officials that he had committed the country to war.[79]

Just over a year later, in January 1943, Roosevelt made a spur-of-the-moment commitment during an Anglo-American meeting in Casablanca that would have a great impact on the final days of the war. The president announced to the press that the Axis powers—Italy, Germany, and Japan—would be made to accept unconditional surrender to Allied forces. British prime minister Winston Churchill claimed the announcement was the first he had ever heard about the idea, and Roosevelt later explained that "the thought popped into my head" during the conference.[80] This was characteristic of Roosevelt's decision-making style;

the unconditional surrender concept had been discussed in a State Department report by the Subcommittee on Security Problems, which the president may have read. The idea had many critics in the State Department and later the military because rejecting the possibility of negotiated surrender could, and in the event did, prolong the conflict against each of the Axis powers. Had Roosevelt consulted with his advisers before making a public commitment, he might have been dissuaded. However, the unconditional surrender demand did have advantages. It served a valuable domestic goal in strengthening morale and gave a clear common goal to the Allied governments. Roosevelt's successors would consider abandoning this evocative and rhetorically powerful term in the summer of 1945, a debate ended only by the advent of the atomic bomb.[81]

The heads of the three major powers engaged in war against Japan met at Cairo in December of that same year. At this summit, the United States, China, and Britain considered concerted plans for postwar East Asia. While the secretaries of state, war, and navy, and lower-level regional experts had a difficult time getting the president's ear in the run-up to Cairo, the ideas FDR brought to the summit were developed gradually and in conversation with representatives of Britain and China. In March 1942 Roosevelt invited Britain's foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, to meet with him and the secretary and undersecretary of state to discuss the future of East Asia. The principles Roosevelt proposed in this meeting match the key points agreed at Cairo a year and a half later. The president suggested returning Manchuria and Formosa to China, creating an international trusteeship for Korea, and "internationalizing" Japan's mandated islands for the purpose of keeping peace. Eden indicated approval of Roosevelt's proposals.[82]

In the Cairo Declaration, the United States, Great Britain, and China declared that Japan would be "stripped" of the Pacific islands it had occupied since 1914, and Korea would be administered by the Allies until fit for self-governance. The return of Manchuria and Formosa to China was also agreed on at the conference.[83]

The Chinese, too, were included in executive thinking before Cairo. Chiang's regime was kept informed about the outlines of these plans through the personal emissaries sent by Roosevelt to China's wartime capital, Chongqing, and the subject was discussed at high-level meetings in Washington.[84] In 1942, Roosevelt sent both Lauchlin Currie and his defeated campaign challenger, Wendell Willkie, on missions to China. Currie and Chiang discussed the reversion of Manchuria to Chinese sovereignty after Japan's defeat, which Chiang insisted must go ahead in spite of potential objections from the Soviet Union, Japan, or Chinese communists.[85] Owen Lattimore, a respected if opinionated expert on the Far East and Roosevelt-appointed adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, also kept the Chinese informed on Roosevelt's postwar plans.[86]

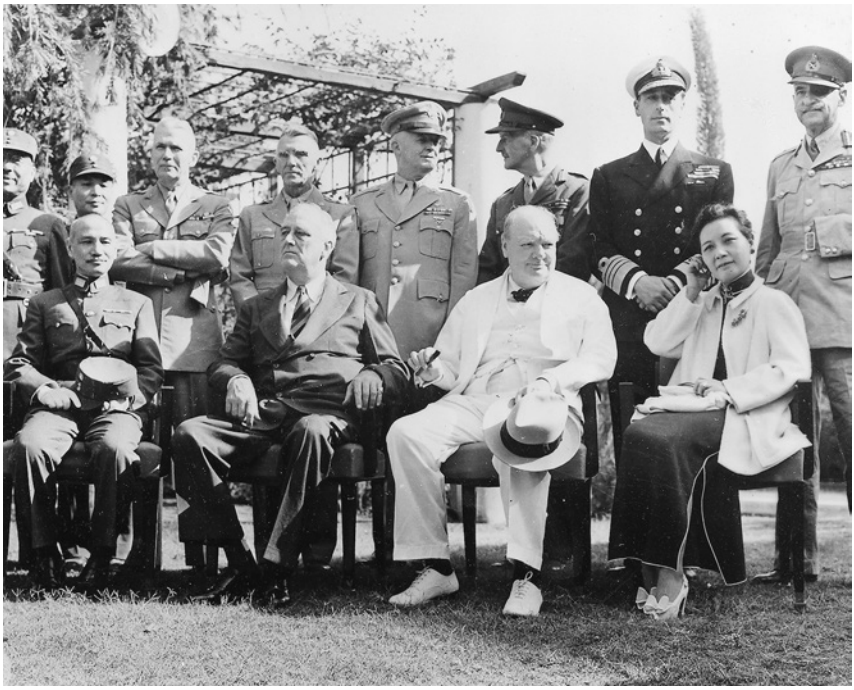

FIGURE 1.2. President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Cairo Conference in Cairo, Egypt. Seated in the picture (from left to right) are Chiang Kai-Shek, FDR, Winston Churchill, and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum.

Occupation Forces

The Chiang-Roosevelt meeting at Cairo also briefly covered unformed ideas on an occupation of Japan. Both sides were interested in a substantial Chinese role in an Allied military occupation. On the American side, the presence of Chinese troops would weaken the perceived connection between Allied policy and European imperialism while reducing the costs and manpower burden of the project for the United States. China was interested in asserting its place as a new great power and demonstrating its value as a partner in the region. In 1942 the quasi-official Chinese delegation to a conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) recommended "Allied Asiatic troops" occupy Tokyo after Japan's defeat. This position was repeated for a domestic Chinese audience in April 1943 through a government-approved lead newspaper editorial.[87] Although there is no record of discussion between Roosevelt or his emissaries and Chinese officials on an occupation before the Cairo meeting, he may well have known about China's interest in participation through Currie or Welles, who had been present at the

IPR conference.[88] However, when Roosevelt proposed that China should take the leading role in the occupation of Japan, Chiang refused, stating that China was unprepared for such "considerable responsibility."[89] Although eager for recognition as a great power, China imagined itself in an auxiliary role supporting American-led management for postwar Japan.

Dividing Territory

President Roosevelt, the State, War, and Navy Departments, and the Allies largely agreed on plans to dismantle Japan's empire after the war.[90] This was partly because of anti-imperialist sentiment in the United States and China and partly because, regardless of statements to the contrary in the Atlantic Charter and Cairo Declaration, the Allies had territorial interests in Japan's possessions. Major prizes included island chains in the north and south of Japan and the Pacific islands that had been granted to Japan as mandates after the Great War. The declaration established that Formosa and Manchuria would be returned to China.

When discussing Japanese-controlled territories with Chiang at Cairo, Roosevelt brought up the Ryukyu Islands in southern Japan, inquiring "more than once whether China would want" them.[91] The Ryukyu Islands had historically been an independent kingdom but were formally incorporated into Japan proper as Okinawa Prefecture in 1879. Because the offer was made without consultation with Japan experts, this was likely the result of the president's ignorance rather than an attempt to partition the Japanese home islands.[92] Unsurprisingly, Chiang refused the offer, which would have involved the complicated task of annexing a part of Japan proper with a significant civilian population.[93] As publicly stated later, it was agreed that Formosa and Manchuria would both be returned to China.[94] The United States was inclined to support the reversion of Formosa to an ally, and insistence on Chinese rights in Manchuria had been a sticking point in prewar negotiations between America and Japan.

The United States also had interests in Japan's League of Nations mandate islands. Though these islands, collectively known as Micronesia, were small in terms of landmass and population, they spread out as points covering an ocean area nearly the size of the continental United States.[95] Both Washington planners and the president agreed that the United States should use these Pacific islands as bases, through either international trusteeship or direct control, to increase American power in the region and to deny them to potential future aggressors. It was important, however, that the annexation of bases across the Pacific would appear to be motivated by peace and collective security rather than imperialism and territorial expansion, which had been explicitly rejected by the Atlantic Charter and Cairo Declaration.

This tension is apparent in Roosevelt's explanation to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the summer of 1944. Although stating that the country was "seeking no additional territory as the result of this war," Roosevelt noted that the as-yet-uncreated United Nations organization could ask the United States to "act as a trustee for the Japanese mandated islands." This would give it the "military authority to protect" the populations of these islands, which would justify building fortifications.[96] While the trusteeship solution exposed the United States to accusations of hypocrisy, it also prevented an open scramble for territorial spoils.[97] Americans sought to use strategic bases and free trade as an alternative to traditional colonialism. Independence for the US colony in the Philippines, for example, was predicated on the assumption that the United States would be invited to continue its military presence there.[98] During the war, this thinking was applied to Japan's empire, and it would later be applied to the country itself.[99]

The dismemberment of Japan's empire, announced in the Cairo Declaration, was confirmed by the Allies in 1944. This time the Soviet Union was included in the discussions. Stalin had been supportive of American base ambitions at Tehran in 1943, stating that the victors must "occupy strong points" in the area in order to prevent Japan from becoming aggressive again. Roosevelt, naturally, "said he agreed 100%."[100] Just before Yalta, Chiang and Stalin agreed on the key points of the Cairo Declaration—that Japan would be stripped of her possessions, and, as the United States wanted, that "necessary air and naval bases" would be created so that the United Nations could police the western Pacific. Stalin accepted that Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores would be returned to China, and he agreed that a tutelage period was needed for Korea.[101] At the same time, as seen below, Russia was negotiating with the United States over claims to Japanese islands to the north as a price for entering the war with Japan. Thus, the interests of China, the Soviet Union, and the United States converged in the carving up and reapportioning of Japan's empire.

Outcomes and Responses to Cairo

The format for the discussion between Chiang and Roosevelt at Cairo on the evening of November 23, 1943, led to secrecy and confusion. In an unusual move, Roosevelt objected to keeping records from the three-hour meeting. As a result, no records were made on the American side. The only people present were the president, his adviser Harry Hopkins, and Chiang Kai-shek and his wife. Because of objections from Chiang, an agenda for the meeting was not agreed on beforehand.[102] During talks that evening, Roosevelt made a "vague and loose" commitment to arm ninety Chinese divisions at the end of the war in an effort to modernize the Chinese army, a massive undertaking. The agreement was not

written down, and Hopkins could not later recall whether it had been made unconditionally or whether military aid was contingent on the stabilization of the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The agreement came to light only in September 1945, five months after the president's death and one month after the war ended, when the Chinese Nationalist government demanded supplies to make good on this promise.[103] The incident highlights Roosevelt's lack of regard for his advisers, whom he neither consulted nor informed of major decisions. It also demonstrates the confusion caused by his private initiatives in foreign policymaking.

The most important aspect of the Cairo Declaration, which was released to the public on December 1, 1943, was that it seemed to guarantee cooperation between the Allies for postwar security. In addition to the declaration itself, which laid out the basis for dismantling Japan's empire, planners had access to media sources for analysis and information. The statement in a *New York Times* article covering the conference that "Tokyo's co-prosperity sphere, which gingerly commenced with the seizure of Formosa in 1895, will be entirely scrapped," for example, was quite accurate. Likewise, the article's prediction that a "new and greater China" would rise "from the ashes" of a Japan-dominated Pacific is in line with Roosevelt's expectations for both nations.[104] Other sources of policy ideas and planning had to adapt their positions to match this new reality of commitments made at Cairo. But the bureaucrats tasked with drafting American policy were not aware of secret agreements such as Roosevelt's promise to arm Chinese troops or his offer of the Ryukyu Islands.

Soviet Entry and Yalta

The issue of Russia's entry into the war against Japan was one on which the American president, the State Department, and China's leadership were particularly far apart. The Soviet Union had signed a nonaggression pact with Japan in 1941, and was therefore not involved in the Pacific theater. However, Roosevelt's plans for postwar East Asia assumed a major role for the Soviet Union.[105] The Chinese, by contrast, hoped for a Pacific sphere controlled by the Americans and Chinese alone. As Chiang explained to one of Roosevelt's emissaries, the influence of Great Britain in postwar Asia ought to be limited because it was an imperialist power, while the Soviet Union presented a communist threat to the region.[106] Given the civil war brewing between Chiang's Nationalist regime and the Chinese Communist Party, the threat to the KMT of an ascendant and ideologically opposed Soviet Union was real. Competing territorial aims were a second reason for China's reluctance to accept a major role for Russia. Before

Cairo, both Chiang and his brother-in-law, the well-regarded diplomat and financier T.V. Soong, expressed concern to American officials that Russia might challenge the reversion of Manchuria to China in light of its past rivalry with Japan for influence in the area.[107] Indeed, Stalin was interested in reclaiming rights in Manchuria, particularly over the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Dairen, which had in the nineteenth century given Russia access to a valuable Far East warm-water port.[108] Roosevelt and Welles were sympathetic to Russian interests in northern China, counseling Soong that the country would have to recognize the Soviet Union's legitimate commercial interests in Manchuria.[109]

American Far East experts in the State Department were also skeptical about Russia's future role in the region. They were shocked to hear about Roosevelt's aim of involving the Soviet Union in the Pacific theater of the war and his willingness to give concessions that would increase Russia's postwar strength in the region in order to reach this aim. As one planner explained, "We saw no reason why the U.S.S.R. should have been paid for entering the war against Japan, when it would have served our interests better to have the Soviet Union stay out."[110] They were not consulted on the subject, however. The State Department drew up detailed briefs to prepare Roosevelt ahead of Yalta, but the president did not read them.[111] Unbeknownst to the State Department, FDR had personally encouraged Soviet participation from at least July1943, using the carrot of territorial gain. At that time, Roosevelt proposed a meeting with Stalin, informing the Soviet charge d'affaires through his own representative that he "would surprise Stalin by how far he, Roosevelt, is ready to acknowledge our [Soviet] rights, in particular, on territorial issues." At this point, the Soviets expected Roosevelt would bring up the issue in any meeting between the heads of state, but they were not yet prepared to abandon their neutrality pact with Japan.[112]

A year and a half later, at Yalta, Roosevelt finally secured a commitment from the Soviets to enter the war against Japan two to three months after the defeat of Germany.[113] This agreement was conditioned on territorial gains for Russia at the expense of both Japan and China. From China, Russia would regain leased control of Port Arthur, which had been lost after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, have its preeminent interests recognized in an internationalized Dairen, and gain a measure of control over Chinese railways in these areas. Japan would lose islands to the north along its border with Russia—namely, all of Sakhalin and "islands adjacent" to it and the Kurile Islands.[114] As a price for Soviet entry into the war against Japan, Franklin Roosevelt approved what was essentially a reversal of one of the key achievements of his cousin and hero, former president Teddy Roosevelt, who had been awarded a Nobel Prize in 1906 for brokering the peace treaty after the Russo-Japanese War.

Roosevelt had good reason for his differences with the State Department on the issue of Soviet involvement in the war. Bureaucratic planners believed that the initiative for planning and policy in postwar Asia ought to be held by the United States, which had borne the brunt of fighting in the Pacific. The postwar situation could be more easily handled without the Russians. By contrast, Roosevelt and the War Department were eager to encourage Soviet involvement, which would make Allied victory more likely and shorten the war. The Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria was believed to be very strong, and military planners expected the Japanese would draw on it in case of an Allied land invasion of Japan's home islands, the dominant end-of-war scenario before the atomic bomb was successfully tested. The Soviet Union, which bordered Manchuria, could tie up the Japanese there and limit potential reinforcements ahead of a land invasion. In addition, Stimson pragmatically argued that the Allies were in no position to prevent the Soviets from simply taking whatever territories they coveted after the war and so might as well collect a price for them.[115]

FDR was less concerned than his planners were about American predominance in postwar policy. In addition to strengthening the Russian hand, he sought to include China in decision making and hoped the country would take on a major role in occupying and monitoring Japan. During his talk at Cairo with the Chinese leader, he asked Chiang's position on the retention of the emperor after Japan's defeat, which was an issue of huge symbolic value. As discussed above, he also offered China Japanese territory and suggested China take the leading role in the military occupation of Japan, burdensome honors that Chiang politely refused.[116] Roosevelt dealt with this difference in opinion on the Soviet question by simply ignoring and excluding the side with which he disagreed. Even senior members of the State Department were denied records from the Yalta conference. Bureaucratic planners were kept in the dark about the secret agreement with the Soviets, although the pact was significant to postwar planning, having territorial implications and giving the Soviets an unexpected stake in postwar Japan.[117] Thus, although all known Roosevelt commitments were incorporated into any policy proposals, secret agreements left wartime planners to draw up their plans while lacking significant information.

Roosevelt's health declined rapidly in the last year of his life and presidency. By early spring 1944 he had become, in the words of historian Christopher Thorne, a "part time president."[118] Although he remained active on the issues most important to him, this limitation touched every aspect of the administration. There was no clear line of policy approval apart from presidential sponsorship of ideas, and Roosevelt's ability to make agreements or change course without consultation

was still a wild card for planners. Roosevelt's mixed management of Far East policy left uncertainty about the future of the postwar plans for Asia.

Even as FDR held the policy reins and his intentions close, his actions and ideas set parameters for postwar planning. This was particularly true in the case of territorial issues. The outlines of future action were set by the public commitments and international agreements made by Roosevelt during and immediately before the war. All plans from any quarter of government would need to reflect the commitments made by the president to Allied governments and in the Atlantic Charter, the Casablanca Declaration, and the Cairo Declaration. Further, because presidential approval was needed to turn recommendations into official policy, proposals had to incorporate Roosevelt's ideas and interests to the extent that these were known by the planners.

President Roosevelt showed little interest in the work of official experts working on postwar issues, preferring to find analysis from outside official channels. As a result, planners sometimes worked in a vacuum, without a voice in wartime agreements and uncertain of their president's plans. Had he lived to see Japan's surrender, FDR might have rejected the recommendations of his planners. He might well have impulsively adopted suggestions from advisers outside the planning process without consulting experts, as with his temporary championship of the Morgenthau plan. Certainly, he was sympathetic to the idea of a tough peace for Japan. The approach to Japan that emerged from the bureaucratic planning process did not reflect Roosevelt's thinking on the subject. Harry Truman, not Roosevelt, made a selection from the policy basket, and Roosevelt's role in shaping that selected policy was limited to parameters set by his wartime actions and the ideas he did make known. By supporting planning groups to fill a basket of ideas, however, Roosevelt encouraged the development of a policy network that could respond to postwar questions during the war.

2

ELBOW PATCHES AND ORIENTALISTS

Bureaucratic Wrangling

In the early days of the war, postwar planning was at best an optimistic enterprise. The United States was torn between hope for a brighter future and the reality of a violent conflict with an uncertain outcome. Although most state resources were tied up in the day-to-day conduct of the war, a few government specialists grappled with how to use the country's rising power to reshape the international system and bring stability to the world. Taking victory for granted, a group of men in the Department of State began working to redefine US interests abroad and plan for a new world order after the collapse of the Axis powers. The planners for postwar Japan had little reason for optimism about the success of their efforts. The committee for which they worked was only one within an alphabet soup of acronymed bureaucratic committees, and these together represented only one possible source of future policy. Even if the United States did win the war in the Pacific and was able to shape the peace agreement, there was no guarantee that the recommendations of low-level area specialists would be taken into account.

The State Department came to dominate postwar planning on Japan. Key figures in that process disagreed about the causes of Japanese militarism and the potential of peaceful cooperation. Asia specialists and the senior officials who approved policy drew different conclusions based on their own experiences with Asia, a sense of connection to either Japan or China, and the information they had access to. Some, such as Ambassador Grew and the Foreign Service officer Joseph Ballantine, had worked with Japan's pro-West elites before the war. They believed that the country had been hijacked by militarists and that peace could be restored by removing usurpers from power and supporting the old leadership.

Others, such as the Japan experts Eugene Dooman and George Blakeslee, believed that Japanese aggression had been the result of legitimate grievances against the West. Japanese leaders were rational actors who would choose peace and cooperation with the United States if that cooperation was in Japan's national interest. There were also critics of these views in the State Department, who instead supported the orientalist notion that the Japanese had no rational interests because they were inscrutable, warlike, and obsessed with saving face. Stanley Hornbeck, the head of the Far Eastern Division and a Sinophile, saw Japan's prewar grievances as a mere pretext for expansionism, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, embittered by the failed prewar negotiation process, doubted the sincerity of Japan's leaders.

"Japan hands" in the State Department advocated rehabilitation after Japan had been defeated, occupied, and disarmed. Drawing on the ideas of Dooman and Blakeslee, they argued that economic growth and access to international trade should be tied to Japan's reintegration into the international community. This, they believed, would prevent it from rearming in the long term by appealing to Japan's own national interest. In many ways this idea resembled the terms of the "Hull note" offered to Japan by the United States in negotiations to avoid conflict before Pearl Harbor. Open access to trade, with reduction of tariff rates for finished goods and access to raw materials, would replace military expansionism and so create peace in the Pacific region.

Policy planners' recommendations evolved during the war and finally formed the document entitled United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan (SWNCC150/4), which became official policy in September 1945. This document was authorized by President Truman and sent to General MacArthur to serve as a policy guide for the occupation. It offered a broad vision for the treatment of Japan, which occupiers could use to frame responses to problems as they emerged.

Overview of the Process

Postwar planning first began in 1939 when the State Department, lacking the funding and manpower to consider long-range questions, accepted help from an enthusiastic nonstate actor, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). State began its own planning program the next year, although it continued to cooperate with the council. The project's early period was marred by lack of resources as planners retained their full normal workloads.[1] It became a massive undertaking. Thousands of man hours were spent in meetings and report writing as the leading minds in international relations, area studies, and policymaking carved out a

vision for the United States and the postwar world. Officials involved in planning shared the assumption that the United States would win the war in Europe and Asia and would be in a position to reshape those areas through foreign policy. State Department planners were so certain in this conviction that the progress of the war was not discussed in planning meetings. But Allied victory was by no means certain, and even if it was secured, the United States would not necessarily be in a position to dictate the peace. Many leading figures, including Cordell Hull, Joseph Grew, and Franklin Roosevelt, at times criticized postwar planning as a fool's errand.[2] The future was filled with so many unknowns that the best-laid plans could well prove useless.

In addition to skepticism, Japan planners had to contend with rivalry and the need for collaboration with other departments, especially War and Navy but also Treasury and the Office of War Information. They had to get the approval of higher-level bureaucrats for all policy recommendations and build a strong consensus within the Far Eastern Division to keep draft recommendations from being torpedoed. Franklin Roosevelt took little interest in the work of this group, and any recommendation would need the president's signature to become policy. Even with bureaucratic and presidential approval, the congressional rejection of the postwar plans in 1920 served as a warning that policy would have to survive the political process and by extension ran the risk of failure if elite plans ran afoul of popular opinion.

Official planning did not begin in earnest until February 1942, when the Division of Special Research and the Advisory Committee on Post-War Foreign Policy were created. The new division was staffed with ten research assistants, three stenographers, and a messenger. It grew quickly, and by October it had expanded to include fifty-two research assistants and nine stenographers.[3] Several of the individuals brought on to the project were Foreign Service officers or academics with expertise on East Asia. In the fall of 1942, these came together to create the Inter-Departmental Area Committee on the Far East, or IDAFE. Because membership of the group remained fairly stable even as the larger planning architecture changed, it will also be referred to as the Subcommittee on the Far East (SFE) in this book. This group had a mandate to provide reports and recommendations on Asia to nonspecialists and higher-level planning committees. It became the center of bureaucratic policy planning for Japan.

The IDAFE was the most active area committee in the State Department's postwar planning project. The group was composed of an equal number of academics and Foreign Service officers who specialized in Asia. It met 234 times between its creation in 1942 and the autumn of 1945 and had between seven and thirteen members present at any given meeting.[4] In each meeting, Eugene

Dooman would set the agenda based on queries from the other planning committees, the War and Navy Departments, or senior officials. The group would assemble relevant facts, identify underlying arguments, and weigh options under the guidance of Joseph Ballantine. The goal was to create "lucid, convincing and sound" recommendations.[5] The area subcommittee group grew out of and was deeply influenced by State's collaboration with nongovernmental organizations. Once the department began its own planning project, its organizational structure and starting-point draft reports were borrowed from the CFR group. The government also hired members of the CFR and Institute of Pacific Relations, who brought with them ideas from the think-tank programs.

State Department planners benefited from a significant amount of contact with the president in the early planning period. This was the case because Roosevelt was most interested in receiving recommendations on issues about which he was undecided, and because of the close relationship between the president and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. In a meeting with Norman Davis, CFR president and a key member of the postwar planning project, FDR warned that while he would accept briefings from planners, his "mind [was] already pretty well made up on some of these matters."[6] Where his ideas were not fixed, however, planners were in a position to influence Roosevelt's thinking. In the fall 1942, Roosevelt began considering the future of League of Nations mandates and requested a report on colonies and trusteeships "at an early date."[7] A few months later, after defining his position, Roosevelt met again with the top planners to explain his position on trusteeships and the disposition of East Asian territories.[8] This information flow between bureaucratic planners and the president was reinforced by Welles, who was primarily interested in Latin America and felt responsible for keeping Roosevelt informed about planning developments.[9] The link was so strong that in 1943 Leo Pasvolsky, head of the Division of Special Research, which housed early State Department postwar planning, advised discontinuing regular meetings between planners and the president. Such meetings, Pasvolsky argued, were dominated by Welles and caused jealousy among officials.[10] The undersecretary's forced resignation in late 1943 left a gap between the two sources of policy. Regular communication between the president and his planning staff never resumed.

As planners considered the limits of US war aims, events in 1943 helped to tip the scales in favor of a muscular program for pacifying postwar Japan. Such a project would be expensive, require substantial long-term commitments, and ensure a more active role for the United States in the Far East. The 1943 Cairo Declaration guaranteed continued cooperation between the Allies for postwar security and ensured that Japan would be disarmed and stripped of its colonies. Approved by the president and expected by the public, these terms had to

be included in any postwar plan for Japan.[11] In addition, Congress passed bills supporting American membership in a postwar organization after a highly publicized press campaigns to drum up popular support. In this context, planners could agree on aims for Japan's place in the postwar international system. In July 1943 the Postwar Programs Committee (PWC) territorial group wrote that "the ultimate objective of the United Nations is to restore Japan to full and equal membership in a family of nations bound together by an international organization and protected by an effective security system."[12] The expression "friendly" toward the United States was also a regular feature of planning documents for Japan from 1943.

The military began to plan for an invasion and occupation of Japan from summer 1943. The Army's Civil Affairs Division (CAD) and Navy's Occupied Areas Section (OAS, later known as the Military Government Section) both considered practical questions about setting up and managing a military occupation in hostile territory.[13] In February 1944 the OAS drew up a list of specific questions regarding the IDAFE's plans for postwar Japan. State responded by sharing planning information and sent relevant reports to the other departments. Between February and August of that year, State sent forty-one planning documents, mainly IDAFE reports, to the Navy Department.[14] The subcommittee also drafted a key document that summarized its earlier reports. The result, PWC 108, laid out the IDAFE's broad recommendations for postwar Japan.[15] In April 1944 this was submitted to the high-level committee for approval, where it met with criticism and underwent alteration. IDAFE plans for Japan's postwar economy and its place in international relations were deemed to be too lenient on Japan and were put under pressure. As a result, the wording of US aims for postwar Japan's political and economic reorientation was changed to appear less "soft" from that point onward.

Because the three departments had begun considering future planning independently, exchange of information and collaboration among them was needed to avoid creating a tangle of conflicting policies.[16] Although the State Department was responsible for developing political policy, military issues such as occupation policy and future security strategy necessitated the participation of the War and Navy Departments. As Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal explained, "Both the Army and the Navy are aware that they are not the makers of policy but that they have a responsibility to define to the makers of policy what they believe are the military necessities of the United States."[17] The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) was created in January 1945 to coordinate military and political plans. The new committee replaced the State Department's Postwar Programs Committee as the center of official postwar planning. SWNCC's new Far East Subcommittee (SWNCCFE) was composed of key members from the

State Department's Interdivisional Area Committee on the Far East and chaired by a member of State's Far Eastern Department. The continuity of membership between the IDAFE and the SWNCCFE ensured that State maintained the initiative for political planning. However, this new collaboration between departments meant that all recommendations from the former State Department group needed approval from the secretaries of state, war, and navy in order to reach the president's desk.

As collaboration between State, War, and Navy increased, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau sought a leading role for his department in official postwar planning for Germany. Morgenthau was able to use his relationship with President Roosevelt to secure Treasury's participation in planning over the opposition of the State and War Departments. At a cabinet meeting after an informal discussion with Morgenthau, Roosevelt announced that he would set up a State, War, and Treasury committee to consider postwar Germany. Cordell Hull and Henry Stimson were shocked at the announcement, which led to the creation of the Informal Policy Committee on Germany, thereafter the main source of policy on Germany. However, Treasury did not press for a role in planning for postwar Japan at that time. Morgenthau, himself a Jew, had been interested in Nazi Germany as a vocal advocate for German Jewish refugees from the early 1930s.[18] Of course, Treasury's focus on Germany in 1944 depended on more than the secretary's interests. Japan and Asia received less attention than Germany and Europe in government planning generally, and victory seemed closer to hand in Europe than in Asia.

Treasury's lack of interest in Japan planning in August 1944 ensured that the department did not play a role in that project. By the time Morgenthau's focus turned to Japan in May 1945, Roosevelt had died and the secretary's influence had faded. In these new circumstances, State Department Undersecretary Joseph Grew and the head of the SWNCC Far East Subcommittee Eugene Dooman effectively kept Treasury out of Japan planning. Grew and Dooman, both Japan hands, strongly disagreed with Morgenthau's tough economic proposal for the reversion of Germany to an agrarian society and wanted to avoid such input in Japan policy. For this reason, Grew advised Dooman that if approached by the Treasury Department, he ought to respond that the SWNCC subcommittee was best suited to handle planning and that the involvement of an additional department would complicate the process.[19]

In June, Morgenthau called Grew to enquire why Treasury, which had been in on planning for Germany and Austria, was being kept out of Japan planning. Grew replied that the Germany planners were not Asia experts and that one had to understand "all about conditions in Japan, the psychology of the people and all the rest of it" in order to consider the country's future. Grew responded to the

request for inclusion by adding that he would let Morgenthau "have a look" at the policy "in due course."[20] As a result of Undersecretary Grew's outright rejection of Morgenthau's request and Dooman's careful handling of other approaches, the State Department's Japan experts maintained control of official planning, and Treasury was shut out of planning for postwar Japan.

While the approach to Japan within this group was on the whole consistent, it underwent significant change at key junctures in March and April 1944 and the summer of 1945. The group incorporated the views of influential officials in order to ensure that its recommendations would be adopted. This meant that the documents it created "represented a consensus of views within the department at the working level."[21] Members of the committee frequently had informal discussions with key Asia experts such as Hornbeck and Dooman while preparing their summaries. Collaboration between officials allowed for consistency in policy over time. For example, when Dooman took over as chairman of the group in 1945, he had already approved the earlier IDAFE reports in his previous position as special assistant to the secretary.

April 1945 was a turning point in official planning for Japan. On the twelfth of that month, Franklin Delano Roosevelt died after a long illness. A new addition to the Roosevelt ticket, former Missouri senator Harry S. Truman, had been vice president for only three months when he succeeded FDR as the leader of a nation at war. Truman had not been included in his predecessor's foreign policymaking and had little knowledge of the manifold problems facing him. His stated goal was to continue Roosevelt's policies, and to this end he relied heavily on his advisers for information and analysis. Given the little time between his assumption of the presidency and the shocking, sudden end of the war in the Pacific, as well as a great deal else to focus on, Truman relied on the preexisting plans drafted by the SWNCC to define American policy.

In the early summer of 1945, with a new president in the White House and an end to the Pacific war in sight, the SWNCCFE began to draw together a final draft of its policy recommendations. Incorporating the 1944 changes, the SWNCC drafts drew heavily on PWC 108 and the earlier IDAFE reports, borrowing structure and phrasing. With changes made during the summer of 1945, the Far East group's wartime plans culminated in a document entitled United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, or SWNCC 150/4, which was announced as the basis of policy in Occupied Japan after Truman signed it on 6 September 1945. The detailed and military-focused occupation plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, also based on documents provided by the Far East subcommittee, were revised in collaboration with the group in the fall of 1945 and became JCS 1380/15. MacArthur received an advance copy of SWNCC 150/4 shortly before his arrival

in Tokyo and was sent JCS 1380/15 as a military directive on November 3, 1945. These two documents became the basis of American policy in postwar Japan.

Asia Experts in the State Department

Because of the important place of the State Department in American postwar planning, a handful of men played an outsized role in defining America's goals for a new Japan. These were low- and high-level bureaucrats and area specialists drawn from the Foreign Service and academia. Most of them had been colleagues for many years and had previously worked on US-Japanese relations at the State Department's Far Eastern Department, the American embassy in Tokyo, or international relations think tanks such as the CFR and IPR. In particular, three Foreign Service officers—Eugene Dooman, Joseph Ballantine, and Robert Fearey—and two academics, Hugh Borton and George Blakeslee, dominated IDAFE planning. The higher-level officials Cordell Hull, Stanley Hornbeck, and Joseph Grew were also heavily involved in the process.

Members of this group formed opinions on Japan and East Asia in several ways. In this period, Asia experts usually had experience of either Japan or China. There were no officials with a specialty in Korea, Indochina, or other parts of Asia within the IDAFE.[22] Academics involved in planning were members of the United States' developing Asia studies field. A few had experience living in Japan or China. The department's Foreign Service officers understood Asia through the lens of their postings in Japan or China. Because most officers served in only one country or the other, they often absorbed the antagonism and biases between these warring neighbors. One officer, for example, observed in his memoirs "an emotional hatred" of Japan among China Foreign Service officers.[23]

Media, nongovernmental expert groups, and social networks provided other sources of information and ideas on Asia. Planning documents in the IDAFE, territorial, and political planning groups often included media summaries, which kept members informed about relevant ideas expressed in contemporary newspapers, books, and journals. Planners also circulated newspaper articles and academic papers among themselves. For example, Hornbeck regularly sent China-related articles to Hull, Lauchlin Currie, and the president himself.[24] Members also cited media pieces in IDAFE reports.[25] In addition, several key members of this group, including Hull, Hornbeck, and George Blakeslee, were active in the Council on Foreign Relations' Study Groups on Asia. These groups acted as a regular forum for officials, experts, and businessmen with interests in Asia to discuss the future of East Asia in an unofficial environment. As will be

explained in the next chapter, study groups exposed planners to a wider range of ideas and gave members space to develop their own views.

Planners also met socially with officials and experts to discuss ideas, ameliorating the lack of cooperation between government departments. In the summer of 1943, for example, Grew invited Secretary of the Navy Forrestal to discuss an article on postwar Japan over lunch.[26] Though no records were made of these types of conversations, discussion and information sharing in an informal environment did help create a consensus between the men who would later work together to approve draft policies on Japan through the SWNCC group. Social meetings also allowed for dialogue between American planners and their Allied counterparts. The counselor at the British embassy in Washington, George Sansom, was a British historian of Japan with a voice in State Department planning. He was well respected by the "Japan crowd" and liked by Grew, and he had been an early mentor of Hugh Borton. Sansom presented his own ideas on the Japan question through correspondence and informal lunches. The content of one such meeting on British and American postwar plans for Japan was written up and sent in summary to other planners by Borton and Blakeslee.[27]

The Japan Crowd

The Japan crowd advocated developing postwar Japan as a future partner. Important members included Joseph Grew, Eugene Dooman, and Joseph Ballantine. Grew remained outside the postwar planning process until 1943 and was initially critical of the project.[28] He became government's most senior Japan expert. Grew had arrived in Japan late in his career. He was appointed ambassador to the country by President Herbert Hoover, who wanted an experienced diplomat to handle an increasingly difficult post. He continued to serve there under Roosevelt, who knew Grew personally as a fellow alumnus of Groton preparatory school and Harvard University. Grew arrived in Japan in 1932, a year marked by violent conflict in Manchuria and the beginning of Japan's turn away from internationalism toward increasing militarism. He remained there throughout the Far Eastern crisis: Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, the creation of a Japanese puppet state in Manchuria, the outbreak of war between Japan and China, and the breakdown in relations between Japan and the United States. Grew left Japan in 1942, after a short period of internment in the American embassy in Tokyo following the Pearl Harbor attacks.

Although he never learned even basic phrases in Japanese, during his decade in the country Joseph Grew developed a deep respect for Japanese officials.[29] The ambassador, firmly part of the East Coast elite and shaped by the gentlemanly tradition of the nineteenth-century American diplomatic service, felt a connection

with the Western-oriented liberal elite in Japan.[30] Colleagues observed that his formal manner was well suited to Japanese culture and that he got along well with his local counterparts.[31] The Grews were socially active and often entertained Japanese officials. They also had a historical connection with Japan. Mrs. Joseph Grew, born Alice Perry, was the grand-niece of Commodore Perry, whose mission to Japan in 1853 had marked the beginning of Japanese-American relations and indeed of Japan's emergence on the international stage.[32]

Two major trends, a hierarchical conception of Japanese society and a belief in an oriental mind, underpinned Grew's thinking on postwar Japan. His own privileged background and the language barrier that restricted his ability to speak with ordinary Japanese help explain his views. "The Japanese people," he believed, "are somewhat like sheep in following leaders. Without intelligent leaders, they tend to disintegrate. Without intelligent leaders, chaotic conditions might develop."[33] Unlike the area experts who made up most of the Japan crowd, Grew believed in the stereotype of oriental inscrutability. He argued that the thinking of Asians was fundamentally different from that of people of European descent. "We westerners," he wrote to a colleague, "must avoid measuring the psychology and mentality of Japanese by western yardsticks or assume reactions we would consider logical."[34] These twin convictions that the Japanese people were by Western standards illogical and that they were incapable of maintaining a functional society without strong leadership gave Grew a paternalistic perspective on Japan. While he believed that rehabilitation of postwar Japan was possible, he held that any changes would have to be top-down and could not be left to the people. Specialists argued that cooperation would require convincing the Japanese people that peace was in their own interests through economic incentives, but Grew also called for marshaling Japan's metropolitan police and civil authorities to maintain order.[35] Thus, although long experience in Japan gave him some insight into and sympathy toward the Japanese, Grew's approach was rather different from that of the lower-level planners in the Far East subcommittee.

After returning from internment in Japan, Grew became assistant secretary of state in 1944 and often served as acting secretary in the spring and summer of 1945. Although he rarely became directly involved in planning for Japan, the advocates for a "soft peace" gained credibility from having a like-minded official in a senior position. Grew had faith in the ability of Japan's prewar liberal elite, but he was careful to avoid hard-liner criticism and was vocal about the need to defeat Japan soundly. He also made it clear that American interests were best served by supporting economic growth. Without industry as an outlet for its energy, Grew believed, postwar Japan would be like a closed container filling with steam. The pressure would build into an explosion.[36] By framing a soft peace in

terms of American security interests, Grew made a powerful argument that could be accepted even by those who believed the Japanese were inherently militaristic.

Foreign Service Officers and Academics

Eugene Dooman, born to missionary parents in the southern Japanese city of Osaka, was the best Japanese-language speaker in the project. His education was in classics and he had hoped to become an archaeologist, but Dooman instead joined the Foreign Service at the insistence of his mother in 1911.[37] His early training gave him a passion for language, which he applied to writing reports "outstanding in . . . quality of penetration, knowledge and understanding."[38] It also filled him with a grand sense of the historic importance of his work. A divisive figure, Dooman was disliked by many of his colleagues. He was described by one as a "swarthy, pudgy . . . BIJ [Born in Japan]" who fancied himself a gourmet, peppered his speech with Latin phrases, and corrected other people's sentences.[39]

Dooman had served as counselor at the American embassy in Tokyo under Grew and acted as the ambassador's principal adviser. His long experience in Japan gave him a perspective on Japan's militarism uncommon among his compatriots. He believed that the country's aggressive orientation had been caused largely by American anti-Japanese behavior in the 1920s. As Dooman saw it, the United States had antagonized Japan with its 1921 insistence on abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, its 1924 Exclusion Act, and its refusal in 1928 to support Japan's protests against China's treaty violations.[40] Dooman believed that because Japan's militarism had begun as a response to legitimate grievances, the country's aggressive orientation was not deeply rooted. Japan could therefore be made fit for international cooperation during a brief period of postwar oversight by convincing the Japanese people that peace would secure the economic well-being of their country.[41] As special assistant to the secretary, Dooman set the agenda for the IDAFE. He later served as the chair of the SWNCC Far East Subcommittee. The reports drafted by his group in the spring and summer of 1945 became the policy basis for America's occupation of Japan. His social behavior, however, seems to have limited Dooman's influence in the postwar period. Although Grew recommended him for a top post in the occupation administration, he was passed over for the job, possibly because he was personally disliked.[42]

Joseph Ballantine was another officer close to Grew who had long experience in Japan. He had been sent to Tokyo as a student interpreter in 1909 and learned Japanese from "an old samurai" with whom he had classes at six in the morning, six days a week. Although his teacher spoke not a word of English and Ballantine not a word of Japanese at the start, he quickly developed proficiency in the language.[43] Like Dooman, Ballantine had been born abroad to missionary

parents, which he believed had shaped his character. He later reported that his childhood in India had allowed him to grow up "without any idea whatsoever about race differences." Ballantine believed that he was able as an adult to relate to "Chinese or Japanese or anybody as human beings," without feelings of racial superiority.[44] Though of course such self-descriptions ought to be taken with a grain of salt, the sentiment and Ballantine's experience abroad are significant to his understanding of the world. As a Foreign Service officer with experience in both Japan and China, he was in a unique position in the government. Trusted by both Grew and Hull, Ballantine served to balance the rift between supporters of hard and soft peace in the department. His view of Japan was shaped both by his own positive experiences in Japan and by his disgust at the behavior of the Japanese army that he had observed while serving as a consul general in China at Canton in 1932 and Mukden in 1934.[45]

Ballantine reconciled his opposing experiences by blaming the militarists, who had suppressed pro-Western liberals, for Japan's wartime aggression. He believed that he understood the power of militarism in Japan in a way other members of the Japan crowd, who saw only "the Japanese at home and their nice ways," could not. As a result, during the negotiations between the United States and Japan before Pearl Harbor he did not believe that civilian leadership would be able to broker or maintain any modus vivendi agreement.[46] To remedy this in the future, Ballantine advocated supporting preexisting liberal elements in postwar Japan.[47] These ideas were the basis of the soft peace argument. Ballantine, who had been given carte blanche by Grew on postwar planning and was trusted by Secretary Hull, was a powerful voice within the government for rebuilding a US-friendly Japan through support for the existing pro-Western liberal elite.[48] When Grew became undersecretary of state in 1944, Ballantine took over the position of director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs. Although he was firmly in the Japan crowd, his understanding of anti-Japanese sentiment played an important role in toughening the planners' soft peace.

Robert Fearey, a young officer who had served as special secretary to Ambassador Grew in Tokyo, was another Foreign Service officer in this Japan crowd. Grew thought of his special secretaries as trainees for a career in the Foreign Service. He selected them from Groton, the elite secondary school from which he and President Roosevelt had graduated, on the basis of their enthusiasm and the ability to get along personally and professionally with the embassy staff. As part of that training, Grew allowed Fearey to read secret embassy correspondence and to draft letters.[49] Fearey had served in Japan for only eight months before the Pearl Harbor attack, after which he was interned with Grew, Dooman, and others in the American embassy for several months. He later recalled this as a "not unpleasant" period spent playing golf as Grew's favorite partner and eating

through supplies of specialty groceries ordered from the United States.[50] On his return to Washington, Fearey became involved in postwar planning for Japan and was particularly interested in its economy, which he believed was vital to peace.[51]

Fearey shared Dooman's conviction that international trade was the key to pacifying Japan, but he also believed that domestic inequalities needed to be addressed as a source of instability. The academics involved in postwar planning were interested in his ideas on land reform, but he was rebuffed by Dooman and Ballantine when he tried to broach the subject.[52] Of course, such ideas were at odds with the general support for the liberal elite class favored by Ballantine and Grew. Fearey's plans for land distribution were, however, eventually incorporated into occupation policy, although both Dooman and Ballantine would later attribute this to the "hijacking" of sound plans by young communists within the American government.[53] Fearey went on to serve in the occupation and drew on the proposals he had drafted in the IDAFE for action in Japan.

The IDAFE's academics were Hugh Borton, a professor of Japanese history at Columbia University, and George Blakeslee, a Harvard graduate who had lectured in history and international relations at Clark University. Borton was an enthusiastic member of the IDAFE. He had first become interested in Japan in 1928 after his arrival in that country on a trip to assist the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization. He stayed in Tokyo for three years, during which time he was inspired by George Sansom to engage in academic study of Japan. In 1931 he left Japan to pursue his studies, but he returned for fieldwork at Tokyo Imperial University during his PhD research. By the outbreak of the war Borton was a pioneer of Japan studies in the United States.[54] His plainspoken manner, genuine affection for Japan, and pacifist Quaker beliefs all made him well suited for the task of planning a peace to avoid future conflict.

George Blakeslee, a senior academic, was selected by Joseph Ballantine to chair the IDAFE in August 1942 because of his reputation as the "dean of all Far Eastern experts."[55] Although he did not speak Japanese, Blakeslee was deeply interested in the country and believed that international trade was the answer to pacifying postwar Japan. The IDAFE appointment fit his interests. Before his appointment he had been working with Asia experts, including Borton and Hornbeck, on the question of US-Japanese relations at the Council on Foreign Relations' Far East Study Group. Five months before his invitation into government planning, Blakeslee had suggested that the group ought to aim its discussions toward creating concrete recommendations to offer officials.[56] Shortly before joining the State Department's postwar planners, Blakeslee submitted an article to the journal *Foreign Affairs* suggesting that the United States ought to impose favorable economic conditions on a defeated Japan in order to ensure future peace. The

FIGURE 2.1. Dr. George H. Blakeslee. Courtesy of Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Digital Collections.

article was rejected for being "too gentle" toward Japan, and the editor suggested that highlighting the economic causes of Japanese militarism could be misunderstood as blaming the United States for the present war.[57] Blakeslee did not change his opinion and continued to advocate the soft economic treatment of postwar Japan from his new official position.[58] As chairman of the IDAFE, he wrote the majority of the group's recommendations for postwar Japan between 1942 and

January 1944. Blakeslee's reports were accepted as the starting point of Dooman's SWNCC subcommittee and became the basis of SWNCC150/4, the document that outlined occupation policy.

High-Level Officials

Outside the IDAFE, Cordell Hull and Stanley Hornbeck tended to act as a check on the Japan crowd because their support was necessary to approve subcommittee recommendations. Hull and Hornbeck shared a personal dislike for Japan, which translated into support of a "tough peace" for that country.[59] Cordell Hull had been influenced by a long and frustrating relationship with Japan at the start of his work as secretary of state in 1933. His opinion of the country's future was shaped by his experience in failed negotiations with a country he perceived as duplicitous and expansionist. Hull's distrust of the Japanese was well known. The Foreign Service officer John Emmerson described Hull as a man with a "definite conviction that Japan had no intention whatsoever of honoring treaties and would regulate her conduct by the opportunities of the moment."[60] This is borne out by Hull's remarks to a British colleague about the last-ditch negotiations between him and the Japanese ambassador in 1941 to avoid war and establish a modus vivendi between the United States and Japan. During the negotiations, there were rumors that elements within the Japanese leadership were interested in turning away from expansionism and continued war with China. Hull explained that he "had thus far not treated it seriously."[61] During the war, this distrust informed his support for a tough peace and his sympathy with anti-Japanese public sentiment. In April 1944, he roundly disapproved of the postwar plans of the Japan crowd and served as a brake on the planners' enthusiasm for a "new Japan," ensuring that more muted language appeared in future policy statements.

Stanley Hornbeck had worked with the IDAFE's academics at the Council on Foreign Relations and with its Foreign Service officers as head of the Far Eastern Department. Hornbeck, who had taught in China after graduating from university, was an ardent supporter of the Chinese Nationalist cause and was known as "the foremost friend of China in the department."[62] He was remembered unkindly by many of his colleagues, who considered him ill disposed toward Japan. Dooman described working with Hornbeck as "unpleasant" because of his lack of objectivity, his "abnormal sympathy for China," and his "pathological hatred of Japan."[63] Many Japan planners later stated that Hornbeck was dismissive of the opinions of experts. One officer petulantly noted in his memoirs that "we were better judges of Japanese psychology than was Hornbeck, functioning in his own, Chinese-made, bureaucratic straight-jacket."[64] Another was

so disgusted by working with Hornbeck that years later he wrote a play casting him as the villain. In a publisher's rejection letter, the reviewer wrote that the Hornbeck character was such a straw man that audiences would not even enjoy seeing him knocked down.[65] Ignoring the advice of his Japan experts, Hornbeck consistently advocated a punitive peace for Japan. Because he believed that population and economic pressures had been "more of a pretext than a reason for Japan's conquests," Hornbeck did not agree with the other Far East experts that Japan could be easily pacified, nor did he believe that the United States had much to gain from future relations with Japan.[66] His view was that the country could be allowed to sink into chaos and obscurity without damaging US interests.[67]

The rivalry between the China hands and the Japan crowd is well known, but it did not prove to be a central obstacle in the case of postwar planning. Certainly China experts did generally favor a tougher peace for Japan and the elevation of Chinese power at the expense of the former. China hands highlighted the value of China as an ally, called for heavy reparations from Japan to rebuild and develop Chinese industry, and rejected the rationales of economic necessity and the demands of population growth as explanations for Japanese expansionism. These sentiments held considerable sway outside government in specialist and popular media and with the president through his advisers. Hull, as secretary of state, was a China sympathizer who could and did challenge IDAFE recommendations. However, with the exception of Ballantine, whose mixed career placed him in both camps, the IDAFE was made up only of Japan crowd members. This left the group members relatively free to base policy recommendations on their own ideas of Japan. Moreover, after Hull's retirement in 1944, the Japan crowd was in the ascendancy in the department. Hull's successor, Edward Stettinius, relied on the opinions of Grew, the highest-placed member of the Japan crowd, who became undersecretary and often served as acting secretary of state. This new power combination increased the influence of Japan crowd ideas in the top levels of policymaking.

Despite divergent approaches to Japan, the planning process led to considerable consensus about what should be done with the country. Members of the Japan crowd disagreed about the origins of Japanese expansionism, and some struggled to reconcile the personal affinity they felt for a country to which they had dedicated part of their lives with the horrific behavior of Japanese soldiers in China, Manchukuo, and Southeast Asia. Many within the group held that reorienting Japan would be a simple matter of encouraging the existing moderate elements in that country.[68] The planners did agree that whatever one thought of Japan, America would have to accept it as a neighbor in the future. Given that Japan could not be repressed indefinitely, it should be modeled into a nonbelligerent,

US-friendly nation. IDAFE members believed that Japan was capable of reintegration into a peaceful world system and that economic links would convince the Japanese that peace was in their national interest.

American Policy Aims

Some officials unfamiliar with Japan argued that the country could be restrained from future menace by destroying its industry. By contrast, IDAFE reports recommended that peacetime industry be usefully developed. Grew, Dooman, Fearey, Borton, and Blakeslee all firmly believed that integrating Japan into the postwar world economy was the key to pacifying the country. They argued that it would be in American interests for Japan to "share in the world economy on a non-discriminatory basis, looking toward a progressively higher standard of living."[69] As Dooman explained to a colleague in the War Department, the most important goal of an occupation period would be "providing them [the Japanese] with an opportunity to convince themselves that their economic well-being is inseparably bound to the pursuit of peace."[70] Supporting Japan's economic power would promote peace by giving the Japanese an outlet for their energies, help rebuild the international economy, and serve US trade interests.[71] The revival of Japanese industry was therefore central to plans for reorienting Japan into a peaceful country.

Economics and Japan

Economic plans were put under particular pressure as the State Department prepared to circulate its recommendations in the 1944 summary document PWC108. Concern for the standard of living of millions of ordinary Japanese seemed out of sync with calls for a tough peace from other quarters, including the presidency. These concerns were raised first at a meeting between the Japan specialists, who amended the policy document. In the meeting led by Ballantine, Japan planners asked themselves whether the "ultimate objectives" they had established were "too rosy in the light of public opinion." They worried in particular that the clause allowing Japan to participate in the world economy "on a non-discriminatory basis," a central component of planning, would make it appear that Japan "would escape punishment." The specialists agreed among themselves that the tougher-sounding phrase "on a reasonable basis" would be better.[72]

These charges of softness were echoed in a top-level PWC meeting the following week. Secretary Hull took issue with existing goals, arguing that

"American public opinion [was not] prepared to listen to serious discussion of non-discrimination with respect to Japan."[73] The expression "full and equal membership in the family of nations," which had been used in a range of reports across the planning groups to describe Japan's future, also came under fire.[74] Thereafter, postwar Japan was instead described as a country "properly discharging its responsibilities in the family of peaceful nations."[75] Japan would be a member of the new family of nations but no longer necessarily an equal one. After this series of meetings, "nondiscrimination" was permanently cast aside. To connect evolving planning documents, Borton requested that the goal of Japan's sharing "in the world economy on a reasonable basis" be included in all future economic policy drafts.[76]

The group maintained its radical position despite these amendments. Morgenthau advocated the reversion of Japan, along with Germany, to an agrarian economy, while Roosevelt vacillated between that position and allowing Japan limited light industry. Public opinion can be neatly summed up in the cheerful pronouncement of a *New York Times* column that after the war was over "Japan will be shoved back into the days of the Genro."[77] Bureaucratic planners, by contrast, insisted that Japan ought to be allowed both light and heavy industry. They pointed out that the country would face new economic challenges after the war. The loss of empire would cost it access to raw materials, protected markets, and an outlet for overpopulation. Light industry alone, planners predicted, would not be enough to meet the minimum needs of the population because developing Asian nations would build their own textile industries and would be reluctant to import from Japan as a result of war bitterness. Tough restrictions on heavy industry were based on fear that Japan could use such capacity to remilitarize. Planners argued that heavy industry would support a range of peaceful activities. Steel was needed for domestic infrastructure, oil and ships for fishing and trade, machine tools and chemical plants for agriculture.[78] For the IDAFE, heavy long-term economic controls were not an option.

Planners made several points to support this soft economic position in their draft policy documents. They denounced the "inhumanity" of proposals to prohibit heavy industry, which by crippling Japan's economy would "condemn to slow death from malnutrition and starvation millions of men, women and children." A "machine gun," they remarked, "would be more humane and safer" than the desperation that would be caused by Treasury policies.[79] One IDAFE member observed to his colleagues that "if this policy [allowing for industry and "reasonable" trade] were considered soft, then a hard policy would mean one which threatened the very existence of the Japanese people."[80] A stable Japanese economy capable of supporting its population would have important benefits beyond the demands of humanitarianism. Democracy, believed to be a stabilizing

counterbalance to militarism, would hold little appeal for hopeless, hungry masses. The chance of "future benefit," by contrast, would encourage the Japanese to accept peace.[81]

Postwar plans also considered the need for restructuring the economy to secure peace. The academic E. H. Norman's work was deeply influential among academics and Japan planners, including Borton and Fearey. Borton echoed Norman's argument that deep inequality, left over from the feudal era, had fueled Japanese militarism. This led to some of the major domestic objectives of the occupation, such as the breaking up of the *zaibatsu* (Japan's industrial combines) and the land and labor reforms. Dooman and Ballantine agreed with these actions but were uncomfortable with the "communist" implications. In a planning meeting they made it clear that the problem with the *zaibatsu* was the monopoly and the privilege granted these combines, which had collaborated in and benefited from the war effort, and not the size of the companies per se.[82] The resulting policy document noted that "certain features" of Japan's economy "interfered with the development of . . . a climate of general prosperity . . . [which encourages] a contented and peaceful attitude among the people."[83] George Sansom, summarizing for his home government an early draft of SWNCC that had been presented to him, noted that encouraging a "more extended ownership of the means of production, financial organs, etc.," was a key goal.[84] In short, planners believed that redistribution of wealth was needed to give ordinary Japanese a stake in the status quo and prevent future radicalism.

The need to justify plans to nonspecialists and hard-liners outside the department in 1944 forced a reevaluation of Japan policy. In order for PWC 108 to be approved before it could be sent to the War and Navy Departments, its "rosy" language had to be hardened. However, IDAFE members stood by their basic support for reviving Japan's industry and economy. While these ideas were vastly different from popular sentiment and the arguments put forward by the president and officials in other departments, Japan experts justified their position with appeals to human decency and the need to build lasting peace. They might also have expected support from the White House because their position reflected article four of the Atlantic Charter, which promised "all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."[85] Group members acknowledged that they were not economists and that other experts would be needed to draw up more detailed plans.[86] However, they were resolute in their aim. They maintained that the "question of a soft or hard peace was irrelevant" and that hate and emotion must be kept out of policymaking.[87] A sound economy and dependence on foreign trade would stabilize Japan and tie it to the new international system.

Allies and Territories

The plans that emerged from the planning group were quite different from the ideas of President Roosevelt. These two potential sources for American policy developed with little reference to each other after the end of president-planner meetings and Welles's retirement. As seen in the previous chapter, Roosevelt's thinking on Japan was shaped by his sympathy for China, his ideas for Germany, and the irregular advice and reporting he received from personal emissaries and unofficial advisers. He was also concerned with public opinion and dealt directly with America's allies, who had different stakes in the issue. Bureaucratic planners, former academics, and Foreign Service officers with experience in Asia brought in ideas from their own experiences, published research, and the networks built by the Institute of Pacific Relations and CFR. This group worked to incorporate the thinking of high-level officials and the president by including any publicized plans into its own recommendations. However, it was not consulted as the president made postwar commitments and had little idea of executive planning. As a result of these differences, the plans made by working-level bureaucrats were softer than the ideas held by Roosevelt, Hull, Morgenthau, and others. Unlike Roosevelt, who expected that Japan would be restrained as an international actor, area experts instead envisioned a positive role for the country.

With no basic consensus to work from, the very early planners explored an array of options for postwar Asia. The key question they considered was whether Japan, China, or the United States should play the role of a stabilizing hegemonic power in postwar East Asia, with some officials suggesting that Japan or China be built up as a counterbalance to Russia in the Far East.[88] One planning report written shortly before the creation of the IDAFE envisioned a postwar Asia dominated by a "loose political and economic Chinese federation," encompassing Korea and Indochina, to which Japan would be subordinated.[89] Japan's resumption of regional hegemon status was not considered an option for the postwar period. It was accepted from the earliest IDAFE drafts that Japan would be prevented from becoming a menace in the future through disarmament. In contrast to Roosevelt, who supported a major role for China and the Soviet Union, the bureaucratic planners agreed that "the responsibility for maintaining peace and stability in the Far East [would] for many years devolve principally on the United States."[90] America would become the region's dominant power, subordinating both Japan and China.

IDAFE planners expected that the United States would lead both action and decision making on the treatment of Japan. They were unaware of Roosevelt's attempts to involve allies in the process. They were not consulted or informed of

the president's request at Cairo that the Chinese take on leadership of the occupation of Japan. On the contrary, bureaucratic planners advised that the "preponderance of forces used in occupation . . . designated commander of all occupational forces . . . [and] principal subordinate commanders should be American."[91] They likewise roundly rejected the idea of transferring Okinawa (often referred to in planning documents as the Liuchius) to Chinese sovereignty on the basis of what the IDAFE called China's "tenuous historical claims" to the island chain. In addition to the questionable legitimacy of such a move, planners noted that the Chinese were not in a military position to claim or defend the islands and that the sizable Japanese population would present a "real minority problem."[92] Such factors must also have been behind Chiang's polite refusal when Roosevelt, unbeknownst to his experts, offered the territory to China at Cairo.

Although the administration did not take their opinions on the subject into account, State Department officials also opposed the idea of involving the Soviet Union in the Pacific war because it might act as a check on American postwar dominance in the region. The planners were not informed that Roosevelt had begun offering territorial gain as a carrot for Soviet entry from at least July 1943. Joseph Ballantine later recorded that he and Hornbeck had believed U.S. interests would be best served by keeping the Soviets out of Japan. Not until six months after the Yalta conference did the planners discover that the Soviet Union had been "paid" to enter the Pacific theater.[93] In May 1945, Grew wrote as acting secretary of state that the Far East Department believed the Soviets should be kept out of East Asia unless they agreed to cooperate with a wide range of American postwar objectives.[94]

Two related areas in the north of Japan, the large island of Sakhalin and the Kurile island chain, were considered separately by the IDAFE. Borton explained that in the case of Sakhalin the real question was "whether the problem was important enough for the United States to take issue with the Soviet Union." Planners agreed that it was not and that the island should go to Russia if requested.[95] The group took a more nuanced approach to the Kurile Islands question in its recommendations ahead of the Yalta conference. Noting that the population was entirely Japanese and that the islands offered important fishing rights, the planners advised that the southern islands in the chain remain part of Japan regardless of Soviet action. The Soviet Union could be offered administrative control but not full sovereignty in order to ensure continued Japanese fishing access to the entire chain.[96] Roosevelt agreed at Yalta that both Sakhalin and the Kuriles would go to Russia in return for its entry into war. These failures of information sharing not only caused divergence between bureaucratic and executive thinking but slowed down the planning process and made it more inefficient as planners wasted time and resources considering matters that had already been secretly settled.

Reorienting Japan

Wartime planners agreed that there would be two major goals for postwar Japan. First, the country should never again be a menace, and second, it should act "responsibly" within "the family of nations" on the international stage.[97] The Japan experts in the State Department argued that policy toward defeated Japan had to be based on calculation, not emotion.[98] To that end, Japan should be occupied for three distinct phases, one of "stern discipline" as the country demilitarized, followed by a period of vigilant policing by the Allies, and finally, a transition to an independent and self-governing Japan.[99] The State Department plan for a phased occupation responded to the concerns of the War and Navy Departments, which wanted a shorter and more limited occupation than State believed necessary. In the short term, peace would be harsh and restrictive, gradually shifting into a softer treatment of Japan as the goals of the occupation were met with Japanese cooperation.[100]

From this starting point, more detailed recommendations addressed methods of reaching these goals. The simple fact of utter defeat and strict disarmament in the first phase of the occupation would demilitarize Japan and allow the "obnoxious laws" that had fostered ultranationalism to be repealed. Transforming Japan into a cooperative member of the international community would require convincing the Japanese people that their future betterment was tied to cooperation. Supporting democracy and encouraging the return to public life of liberal elites sympathetic to Anglo-American culture and values were also recommended methods of bringing about the larger aims.[101] The argument that existing liberal elites should be fostered and returned to power as a key element of postwar planning, however, has been overstated.[102] While Grew and Ballantine certainly imagined this group to be a source of leadership for new Japan, the pervasive idea of an "unfinished revolution" as the cause of Japanese radicalism was a direct challenge to prewar elites. It was also at odds with plans for redistribution of wealth, which would have undermined the position of established elites.

Planners also justified differences between the policy they drafted and plans for the treatment of Germany. Reparations, they decided as early as 1944, should be taken off the table in the case of Japan because of the economic difficulty it would face in light of its lost empire.[103] In addition, Japan, unlike Germany, ought to be predominately administered by the United States and not carved into zones of occupation. The lack of sufficient Japanese language and government experts in the United States made direct Allied governance of Japan impossible. Therefore, the occupation would have to be carried out in collaboration with the existing Japanese government bureaucracy, and Japanese officials would have to be induced to cooperate.[104]

During the Second World War, State Department planners developed a clear image of Japan's future as an international power. Because Japan had been the leading Asian power and administered colonies and League of Nations mandate islands, planning for its future was contemplated in the context of wider plans for the region. Bureaucratic plans envisioned a Japan that would cooperate in a balance of power or international organization according to the interests of the United States.[105]

This differed substantially from the thinking of President Roosevelt, who was primarily concerned with restraining Japan and hoped that China would take Japan's place as regional hegemon. The planners had only minimal influence over American policy during the war and were kept in the dark about Roosevelt's wartime commitments. It was not clear until mid-1945 that the recommendations of the area committee would ever see the daylight that shone outside the offices and the corridors of the State Department. However, adopted postwar policy was clearly, in language and spirit, a continuation of the recommendations made by the IDAFE and SWNCC subcommittee from its creation in 1942 to summer 1945.

Preparing the Public

Although government bureaucratic agencies established the basic principles for the future of Japan, they were not as successful in preparing the American public for these plans. With few exceptions, public opinion was ignored by the unelected bureaucratic experts who wrote the first draft of postwar policy. The renowned Japan expert Edwin O. Reischauer, who was involved in the State Department project, later explained that public opinion had not been seen as important in policy planning. "Maybe there was a certain sense of elitism," he explained; the idea that "if the government decides something the people will go along, [was] very common."[106] The role of public opinion was limited to an occasional excuse for rejecting policy proposals that officials disliked, as in Secretary Hull's intervention against a soft peace. This fit into a long trend of distance between the State Department and the American people. Public relations held little appeal for the department. In addition to being difficult and time-consuming, it complicated diplomacy.[107] Given the very limited public interest in or knowledge of Japan, experts disregarded uninformed opinion.[108] A specialist in American foreign policy concluded after his study of State Department bureaucrats that "to the extent that they even thought about the public, it was as an entity to be 'educated' rather than as a lodestar by which to be guided." His work quotes one official as remarking, "To hell with public opinion. . . . We should lead, and not

follow."[109] The absence of discussion about popular thinking within planning circles indicates that wartime planners shared this sentiment.

In a democratic nation, however, public opinion matters. The Office of War Information (OWI) was created in June 1942 to manage the release of war- and postwar- related information to the public.[110] The new office drew popular legitimacy from its use of well-known and respected journalists. It took as its head Elmer Davis, a broadcaster and newspaperman, and Edgar Ansel Mowrer, the editor of the *Chicago Daily News*. The OWI was committed to making available to the public all available information except that which could provide aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime.[111] That caveat was problematic. In addition to the more straightforward issue of revealing sensitive military and tactical information, a great deal of information could potentially "aid the enemy" in wartime by undermining morale and public confidence or causing friction between Allied powers. The work of the OWI was matched by separate public-education efforts by the State and War Departments, which aimed to inform and sway public opinion. However, a lack of coordination or agreed goals limited the effectiveness of government outreach during the war. This resulted in stifled public debate on key issues of planning for the peace.

The young office was stunted without the solid backing of the president. As seen in the previous chapter, personal relationships were vital to cooperation with the White House because of Roosevelt's management style and interest in gathering information through informal channels. Before assuming his post, OWI head Elmer Davis had never met FDR, and the two lacked the personal rapport necessary to gain the executive ear or insight into official planning. An outsider, Davis was conspicuously absent from key events. As one reporter publicly noted, "All of the U.S. remember that the President did not take Elmer Davis to Cairo and Teheran [*sic*]. In fact, Davis wasn't even invited to Quebec."[112] Roosevelt's interests overlapped with those of the OWI because he was deeply interested in public and editorial opinion, but the president disapproved of public debate on postwar plans even when it was broadly in line with his thinking.[113]

The particularly difficult period during which the OWI was created played a role in the balance between making information available and supporting morale. Nineteen forty-two was a year marked by dramatic defeats and setbacks for the Allies, especially in the Pacific, where Japan stunned the world with its rapid conquest of Western possessions. The early months of war were marked by the loss of Malaya, Singapore, and the Philippines, as well as Japanese attacks on Australia. In light of this situation, the government cast about for positive messages in order to maintain morale as the country fought a losing war. With this necessity firmly in mind, propaganda became a core function of the office. It took up and held this task during the war through careful restriction and release

of information to journalists, support and recommendation of news pieces and longer articles favorable to the United States, and even writing and producing radio programs itself in order to reach the American public with its message.

Later in the war, the OWI monitored film depictions of China and Japan through its Bureau of Motion Pictures. The bureau created a manual for reference on American policy, reviewed screenplays, encouraged changes to scripts, and even wrote dialogue.[114] This group worked to project particular images of America's allies and enemies. "China," the OWI manual asked moviemakers to remember, "is a great nation, cultured and liberal, with whom, inevitably, [the United States] will be closely bound in the world that is to come."[115] Hollywood was encouraged not to stoke race hatred in the case of Japan. Rather than showing caricatures of the "little buck toothed treacherous Jap," the OWI manual advised writers that fascism, not race, was the issue.[116] Such a distinction would make the soft treatment for ordinary Japanese envisioned in the IDAFE more palatable to the American people.

Preparing the American citizens for the postwar world was a particular challenge for the OWI. In 1943, the year in which the tide began to turn in favor of the Allies and postwar planning moved beyond the State Department, the office began to concern itself with providing accurate information without undermining morale by revealing splits within the US government or between the Allied powers. To this end, OWI officials followed news articles on postwar plans throughout the war, and the office generated reports on public opinion regarding enemy states and the postwar world. It also began to promote magazine articles on the question of the treatment of Japan in particular.[117] The work was undermined, however, by a lack of cooperation between the office and other parts of government. It was unclear which plans represented official policy and merited approval.

The story of wartime planning for Japan is in many ways a story of rivalry between centers of policymaking. The sections above outline the maneuvers within and between the State, War, Navy, and Treasury Departments, and other chapters consider the executive and Congress as they competed for control over the reins of planning. All these actors were interested in public opinion and engaged in their own efforts. As a former OWI member complained, "Neither the army nor the State Department was happy with our independence. They kept treating us as amateurs."[118] None of these more powerful actors were interested in relinquishing their own activities to the OWI, and they collaborated with the office only when convenient. Of course, given the narrowness of policy circles, there was overlap and as a result information sharing took place between agencies. William Holland of the Institute of Pacific Relations and Owen Lattimore, an influential member of the Council on Foreign Relations and through that position the Roosevelt-appointed adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, both took up positions with

the Office of War Information. The State Department created a new position, undersecretary of state for public and cultural relations, in order to recruit the assistant director of the OWI, Archibald MacLeish, into the department.

The State Department also maintained an active relationship with the press under its own initiative. Although prewar public relations had been limited, important speeches by the department's leaders had occasionally helped define American policy. The department was far more active during the war. Hull and Stettinius made public speeches on the world after war and the future treatment of Japan, and the department also coordinated speaking tours for former ambassador Grew on the subject.[119] The aim of Grew's speaking tour, begun after his return to Washington from internment in Tokyo, was to educate the public about the Japanese enemy. He consulted with other planners in the department before speaking about Japan's future. In a letter to IDAFE member Robert Fearey, Grew asked his opinion on economic rehabilitation and reintegration ahead of an NBC radio broadcast for the series *Why We Fight*.[120] These speeches reached a wide audience, including Senator Albert "Happy" Chandler, who read a Grew CBS broadcast speech on the Senate floor and included it in the *Congressional Record*.[121] The State Department also worked with the press and distributed pamphlets and other materials. In the last year of the war alone, State Department officials gave 329 public speeches.[122]

The State Department's efforts to influence popular opinion through bulletins and radio broadcasts throughout the war were sometimes quite transparent. The well-known writer Walter Lippmann, not wanting to openly criticize the department in wartime through his column, outlined the flaws of the department's use of media in a scathing letter to the secretary of state in 1944.

Lippmann charged that the "vulgar" style of recent broadcasts resembled the "lower forms of commercial advertising." Rather than informing the public, the series represented "crass propaganda which can only mislead the ignorant and infuriate the well-informed."[123] Despite such concerns, the State Department continued its own media projects in addition to those carried out by the OWI.

The War and Navy Departments also expressed interest in public sentiment and attempted to influence postwar opinion by distributing pamphlets to troops during the conflict. Congress, itself a heterogeneous group embroiled in debates over future foreign policy, provided another source of difficulty for the OWI. Congressional approval was required for budgetary spending, and in 1945 there was discussion about pulling the plug on the office. Although a reduced operating budget was ultimately approved, Congress remained uncomfortable about funding what appeared to be an arm of government propaganda.[124] These concerns extended beyond the OWI. In the spring of 1945, for example, the Senate appropriations subcommittee examined State Department releases on the

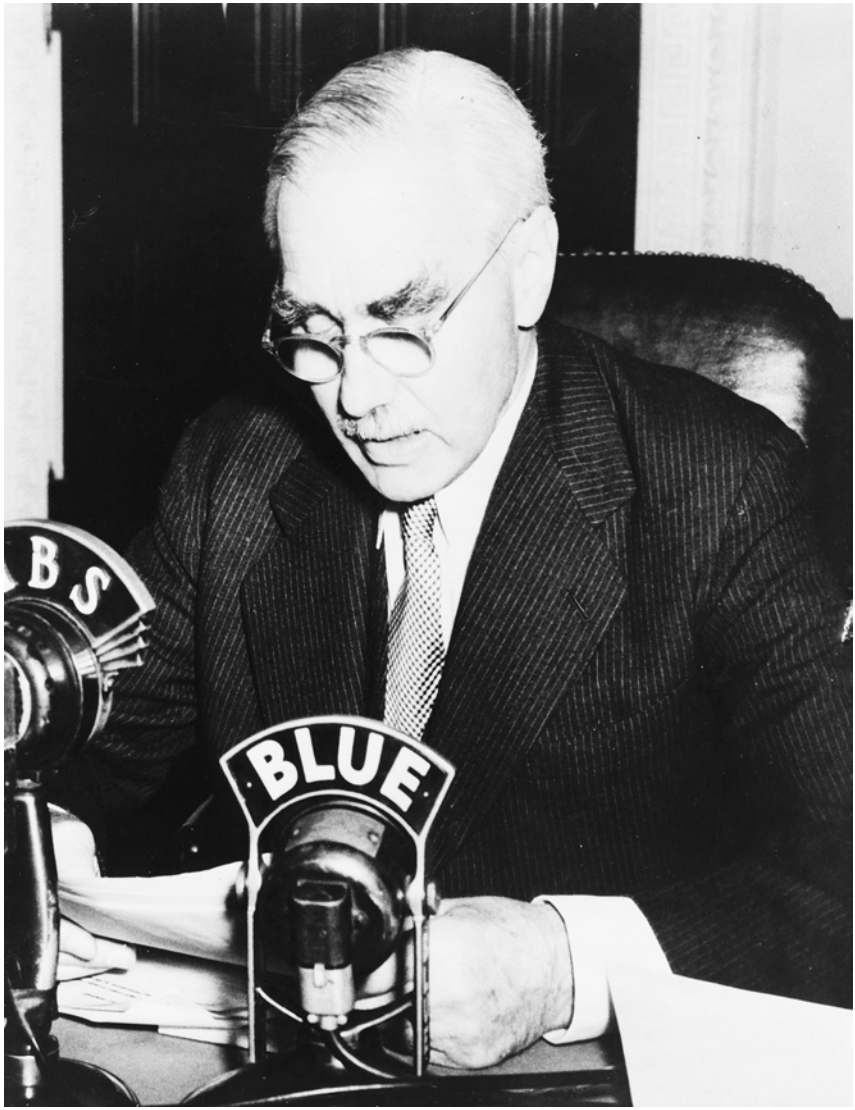

FIGURE 2.2. Acting Secretary of State Grew stresses "unfinished business" in the Pacific in V-E Day broadcast. May 8, 1945. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, item 91705388.

United Nations Organization in response to criticism that they constituted, as one senator put it, a "deliberate policy of nationwide propaganda adopted by the State Department."[125] In the absence of an approved policy, public outreach was vulnerable to such objections from critics.

Despite considerable public relations work across government agencies, the public was given little solid information on postwar plans. Media figures expressed concern about this reality, telling officials that they had a responsibility to lead public opinion. In 1943 the internationalist columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick publicly called on the government to make information available in order to "give them [the American people] the lead" in thinking about foreign policy, since the people could not initiate policy themselves. To McCormick's mind, policy planners were benign figures who ought to keep the public informed, not in order to factor public opinion into their plans but to explain to "anxious" citizens "why, where and how they are going" on the road set for them by the government.[126] The media magnate Henry Luce made a similar argument in a personal appeal to Hull.[127] Other outlets expressed frustration and criticism over the exclusion of the public from postwar planning. Accusations of information hoarding were behind the sharpest criticisms of bureaucratic planning. It seemed that "all sorts of official and unofficial groups are planning, whispering, improvising and tapping barometers without mandate or authority."[128] Though that is in many ways an accurate account of planning, the accusation that the process was without mandate or authority was of course inaccurate. The State Department was officially tasked with advising the executive on matters of foreign policy, and unofficial groups and individuals who contributed to preparation for that advisory role were able to do so only through the consent and cooperation of officials.

This sense of cloak-and-dagger planning aroused the suspicions of critics. The outlines of America's future foreign policy were being made by "little groups of eager thinkers at Washington and elsewhere who are sure they have discovered the key to the universe," and at "scattered United Nations conferences at remote places behind closed doors."[129] That the shape of these plans was hidden from the American people understandably raised hackles in certain quarters. These concerns, taken in context, ran deeper than their conspiracy theory tone might seem to suggest. Memories of the Great War colored perceptions of current events twenty-five years later. The postwar plans and the ideas advocated by Woodrow Wilson had been undermined by the secret agreements made by America's allies in the wake of the First World War. Cynical agreements over indemnities and dividing territorial gains appeared to be the antithesis of Woodrow Wilson's war aims and had shocked the American public when they were revealed.[130]

Officials across government were interested in selling the war and their visions on postwar plans to the public through careful use of the media. When asking, "What will the people think?" bureaucrats added, "And how can we keep them from thinking it?"[131] The Office of War Information, the body that nominally acted as the bridge between government and the public, faced competition from

other departments as it set out to supply and control information made available to ordinary Americans. With no known consensus on postwar plans from the executive or bureaucratic departments, and faced with the challenge that highlighting policy debates could undermine the office's mission to deny comfort to the enemy, the OWI was directionless and weak in this area. Indeed, the anger, suspicion, and confusion about government plans voiced by writers and journalists during the war seem a natural result of the limited and conflicting information being provided by competing arms of government. In terms of swaying opinion, or even the more modest goal of educating and preparing citizens for the end of the conflict, bureaucratic public relations campaigns were a qualified failure.

Two years after the Second World War ended, James Forrestal, who had participated in SWNCC as secretary of the navy, recalled that little thought had been given to postwar planning. "We regarded the war, broadly speaking, as a ball game which we had to finish as quickly as possible," Forrestal wrote in his diary, "but in so doing there was relatively little thought as to the relationships between nations which would exist after Germany and Japan were destroyed."[132] While it is true that relatively few people were engaged in serious planning, the area committee members of the postwar planning program devoted much of their professional lives to that project during the war. The Asia experts involved in the planning sought to build a durable peace in the Pacific and considered American objectives in a new East Asian system.

The State Department's Japan planners considered the future of an enemy country with which many felt a deep connection. During the war most Americans saw Japan as a "barbaric" country "beyond the pale of civilized behavior."[133] The planners' personal experiences provided them with a very different view of Japan than was common among the wider public. The academics and Foreign Service officers on the planning staff believed that the Japanese were not inherently militaristic and would participate in America's new order if convinced this was in Japan's national interest. Although they came up against criticism from China hands and harsh-peace advocates, SFE members made sure this remained the basis of long-range policy. Because planners were part of a small group of American Asia experts, their work was influenced by unofficial sources like think tanks and opinion leaders. It is to these groups that we now turn.

3

UNOFFICIAL OFFICIALS

Think Tanks and Policy

On the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the executive director of the Council on Foreign Relations wrote a letter about private political organizations in the United States. In this letter, Walter Mallory challenged the claim that his organization had a special role in American political life. The council, he claimed, was not exceptional. There were many "groups in the United States dealing with or capable of dealing with questions of our foreign relations." "Every club," he argued, had such a forum and "every church deals with such matters in some form or another. At every dinner party (of intelligent people) the conversation these days turns on foreign policy." He estimated that there were twenty thousand such organizations in America at the time.[1] Despite Walter Mallory's protestations, the Council on Foreign Relations was in an unusual position. There may indeed have been twenty thousand groups interested in foreign relations at the eve of the US entry into the Second World War, but few were significant in the country's policymaking process. Two organizations, Mallory's council and the Institute of Pacific Relations, held a special place in policy planning. Through their wartime programs the CFR and IPR became both directly and indirectly involved in official postwar planning for the future of East Asia and America's role there.

In the early wartime period, official long-range planning was stunted by a lack of government resources and interest in the subject. The bureaucrats in charge of American foreign policy came to rely on information and expertise from outside the government as they formed their views. Specialist research organizations, later known as "think tanks," leaped to fill gaps in official expertise. Think tank staffs

became unofficial officials, taking full part in the development of policy. They provided reports, recommendations, and accessible information, informed by their specific institutional viewpoints.[2] They also maintained personal networks between members and policymakers and created space for officials and private experts from the business and scholarly communities to discuss ideas. Their fingerprints are apparent on the plans with which the United States embarked on the project of radically reshaping defeated Japan.

Background on the Organizations

The IPR and CFR each played an important role. Both were established and well-regarded institutions that could draw on relevant member expertise. The IPR benefited from its regional specialization: it was the largest and most important group focused on the Pacific. The CFR, an outspoken advocate of American expansionism, gained influence through its elite membership and connections.

The Council on Foreign Relations

The Council on Foreign Relations was created in 1921 through the merger of two very different groups of East Coast internationalists. One was the American Institute of International Affairs, an organization of scholars brought together to advise President Wilson after the Great War. The other was a group of internationally minded and successful businessmen and lawyers who met at exclusive dinners to discuss the issues of the day.[3] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the council brought together outside experts and political leaders to discuss with its carefully selected elite membership important issues of international affairs and regional developments through study groups, dinners, and reports.[4] During this period, the council excluded women and, in practice, minorities from membership. From 1922 the council reached beyond its membership to influence the informed public through a journal, *Foreign Affairs*. The journal took as its mission to "guide American public opinion" by becoming the "natural medium of the best thought" in the United States and Europe.[5] As a result of council activities, its members were well informed about current events around the world.

As Japan's foreign policy grew increasingly aggressive after its withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, the council's members frequently debated the potential impact of this Far Eastern crisis on American interests and the appropriate American response. The council's dinner series, appealing to a wide section of council membership, drew fire for its contentious choice to invite

representatives of the Japanese government to address the group in the first half of the decade.[6] *Foreign Affairs*, under the editorial guidance of the fiery internationalist Hamilton Fish Armstrong, devoted many of its pages to expert analyses of the situation in Asia, and in 1938 an entire issue dealt with the war in China. In addition, the Far East Study Group focused the council's East Asian experts on the breakdown of order in the face of Japanese militarism. The council members with an interest in Asia were for the most part businessmen with economic interests in Asia, government officials working on the region, and academics who specialized in the study of China or Japan.[7] At the time of the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, the Council on Foreign Relations was one of the few groups engaged in informed debate on events in Asia and on American interests and policy options in an increasingly unstable world system.

The Council on Foreign Relations has been viewed with suspicion by conspiracy theorists because of its elite membership of influential and wealthy representatives from the East Coast establishment.[8] Corporate leaders within the council certainly supported the promotion of expanded American trade and investment abroad.[9] Such aims fit with the organization's approach to foreign policy. Within the wider organization, and in sharp contrast to public sentiment, members shared a vision of an active United States defending its growing interests around the world. This positive internationalist view had been held by the council since its creation and has directed council discussions and publications ever since. In the introduction to a council-commissioned history of the organization written in 1996, the president of the CFR explained the uniting vision of council members. "If the Council as a body," he wrote, "has stood for anything these 75 years, it has been for American internationalism based on American interests."[10] Although this common starting point by no means led to agreement between members on interpretations of specific issues, it did ensure that whatever position council members might take would support an increased American role, working to protect American interests.

The Institute of Pacific Relations

The IPR was established in Honolulu in 1925 with the mission of supporting the creation of a Pacific regional community. It quickly expanded to include national councils representing the major Asian and Pacific countries, including the United States, Soviet Union, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, and Australia, as well as European powers with colonial holdings in the Far East—Britain, France, and the Netherlands. In the United States and across the English-speaking world, the institute became the major vehicle for collaboration between East Asia experts and for initiating and publishing research on the region. As the renowned historian

John Fairbank explains, "In the 1930s and '40s a great part of the literature available in English on contemporary East Asia was produced . . . [under the] inspiration and supervision" of the IPR.[11] The influence of the IPR on the field of Asia studies and among experts and government officials was so strong because the discipline was small and the organization had little competition.[12] As American interaction with Asian countries increased, so did the reliance of government officials on the IPR for information and analysis.[13] During World War II, officials had to lean particularly hard on the IPR, the only expert group focusing on Pacific affairs, because the potential pool of specialists was so shallow and the level of common knowledge so low.

The IPR was a more complex type of organization than the Council on Foreign Relations. It can be considered both an American think tank and an international nongovernmental organization (INGO) because it had a multilevel organizational structure. During the war period, the organization was composed of the International Secretariat, located in New York, which sat above a number of national councils representing academics, experts, and businessmen with an interest in the Pacific region. Each of the national councils maintained its own research programs and relationship with its home government. For example, the Far Eastern Committee of Chatham House, sister organization of the Council on Foreign Relations and during the war closely connected with the Foreign Office, served as the British national council of the IPR.[14] The IPR as a whole is therefore best seen as an INGO, but the vast majority of funds and major research initiatives came from American members and American philanthropic organizations. As a result, the organization was viewed in other member countries as a potential vehicle for American influence or, as one Australian member put it, "an American Propagandist organisation."[15] Certainly, the International Secretariat in New York, which set the agenda for the wider organization, was dominated by Americans. For these reasons, and because it was mainly the International Secretariat and the American Council (ACIPR) that were involved in Washington planning circles, this chapter will not consider the work of other national councils except as they interacted with the ACIPR and participated in its wartime international conferences. The term "IPR" is used here to indicate the International Secretariat and the ACIPR, which in the context of wartime policy-planning activities can be considered a single American think tank.

The IPR moved from Hawaii to New York City in 1934. With the move, the organization shifted its focus from economics and culture to politics and international relations. The developing crisis in Asia further reinforced this trend.[16] Because of the international aspect of the organization, which included national councils from warring China and Japan, the IPR was affected by the conflict in Asia and was subject to increasing demands on its resources even before Pearl

Harbor in a way in which domestic or Atlantic-focused organizations were not.[17] In 1938 and 1939 the IPR sponsored a series of conferences on American Far East policy and the Sino-Japanese War, inviting academics, businessmen, and influential figures to discuss policy options and strategy.[18] In order to address these issues and increase the amount of useful information available to the public and policymakers, the IPR set up a publication series entitled "The Inquiry," which published volumes on domestic and international situations, including postwar plans for Japan, throughout the war.[19] With the rare resource of area specialists and a mission to promote Pacific regionalism, the IPR was well placed to play a significant role in US-Asian relations during World War II.

Wartime Programs

At the start of the Sino-Japanese War, both organizations were interested in affecting policymaking. Networking brought these groups into official planning, and members were absorbed into the government during the war. As will be discussed in the next chapter, both groups also developed publications that increased the amount of available knowledge on Asia. In addition, the IPR engaged in resource sharing with government agencies and hosted "semiofficial" domestic and international conferences attended by officials. The Council on Foreign Relations' single most important wartime program was the War and Peace Studies (WPS) Project, an unprecedented secret collaboration between the body and the State Department. It also continued to host study groups, which became involved in planning. The Far East Study Group attracted key figures in Japanese American relations, including high-level government officials and leading experts. As the situation in Asia deteriorated, it became a forum for long-range planning on Japan and East Asia. Members, informed by study group debates, were or would become actively involved in American interactions with Japan. The group provided planners with a forum to discuss key questions of American policy in East Asia with other government officials, academics, and business leaders.

The increased wartime activity of these organizations was made possible by funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, a philanthropic organization with the mission of promoting the "well-being of humanity around the world."[20] Like the CFR and the IPR, it was an internationalist organization that envisioned a greater American role in global affairs. The foundation supplied both organizations with substantial additional emergency funds to cover the cost of increased activities, as well as earmarked funds to support special programs.[21] Increased Rockefeller Foundation support began well before America's entrance into World War II, which gave the IPR and CFR a head start in handling the issues that would

later be absorbed into the Pacific theater of the war. With the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, think tanks could engage in in-house research and thoughtful planning on issues and interests. Before Pearl Harbor, these were luxuries that cash-strapped government agencies like the State Department could not afford.

Despite the United States' growing worldwide interests, the State Department in the 1930s was not the vast, well-resourced institution that it later became. The Great Depression had forced hiring freezes and 50 percent salary cuts within the department in the early 1930s. In 1937, the year the Sino-Japanese War broke out, the Far East Division of the State Department was therefore poorly resourced and understaffed. Division Chief Stanley Hornbeck reported that year that his section was unable to do all the work he felt it ought to. He noted that "a great deal of 'planning' might to advantage be engaged in" by the division. However, long-term thinking was not possible for his "overworked" staff, which struggled to handle "day-to-day current questions which are presented to it and which require immediate attention." Without additional resources or staff, Hornbeck explained, it would be "almost impossible" for the division to give "concentrated thought and careful study to questions of major policy and to the formulating of suggestions for possible programs of future action."[22] The outbreak of war in Europe and Asia exacerbated the situation, and the State Department was forced to focus almost exclusively on immediate issues. The Far East Division had a staff of only eleven officers in 1939.[23] For this reason, officials at the department were eager to accept the outside expertise and resources that the IPR and CFR were able to offer.

Expertise on Asia was particularly hard to come by in this era both within and outside the State Department. Acknowledging this difficulty, a leading China expert at the Council on Foreign Relations wrote that while there were many authorities on European countries to be found, government and private institutions quickly discover "how hard it is to find people who really know what's what in Asia." "A natural result of this," he went on, "is that in our councils and deliberations, in the discussion that goes on before policy is determined, the preponderant weight is on Europe."[24] The specter of war in Europe compounded this problem, dominating foreign policy discussions in the second half of the 1930s. Hornbeck, who was also a member of the CFR Far East Study Group, noted in 1940 that "it is undoubtedly true that the European war has taken attention away from the Far East."[25] Even for groups specifically interested in events in Asia, the lack of experts limited discussion. In 1944, a CFR Economic and Financial planning group working on postwar Asia suggested that debate about the future of China "might be a topic which the Group might discuss further and fruitfully even though experts are not available to discuss China's problem in a detailed way."[26] In this and similar cases, generalists were left to speculate about the politics of Asian countries in the absence of expert guidance.

This was a particular problem for policy planners in Washington and at the Council on Foreign Relations, which was headquartered in New York. Most individuals involved in postwar planning for Japan lived within easy traveling distance of the American capital or the CFR's elegant brownstone on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. This regional bias affected the worldview and focus of planning groups. While there was considerable interest in and involvement with Asia on the West Coast of the United States, Americans on the East Coast were further removed and tended to have closer links with Europe. A survey of regional committees of the Council on Foreign Relations carried out during the war highlights the impact of locational bias on the views of council members. The report observed that proximity affected attitudes toward wartime enemy states. "The four Pacific coast committees tended to be easier on Japan than on Germany. The situation is just the reverse on the Atlantic Seaboard." Despite a "great deal of sympathy" for the Chinese in all the regional committees, there was "little understanding" of actual conditions in China outside San Francisco.[27]

As a result, East Coast policy planners, lacking in background and detailed knowledge of Asia, were even more dependent on the limited number of Asia experts to develop ideas for the future of Asia and American interests in the Far East. These experts sometimes used this influence to push personal biases. Owen Lattimore was a particularly influential member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He was involved as an Asia expert in each of the CFR projects discussed in this chapter.[28] Lattimore had spent years in Asia and was one of the few American elites in this period who spoke fluent Chinese. He impressed many people as America's foremost Asia expert. He was also a Sinophile who hoped to use his knowledge of China to build American support for the Chinese cause in general and for Chiang Kai-shek's regime in particular. Lattimore was described by a contemporary as "widely known in this country [United States] both for his scholarship and for his steadfast championship of China's cause."[29]

Lattimore's personal identification with China may, however, have undermined his analysis of current events and limited his value, if not his reputation, as an expert. He referred, in lectures, to the feelings of "we Chinese," and was known for his unshakable belief in the inherent democratic nature of China.[30] Though he admitted that it was not yet democratic in a political sense, Lattimore informed his colleagues that China represented "a democratic type of society." He argued at a planning meeting in 1942 that he was able to assess political developments in China from Washington by reading Chinese newspapers. Although uniform, centrally disseminated, and limited to topics approved by the government, Lattimore stated, Chinese news was free, first class, and a reliable source of information on the domestic political situation. Lattimore's connection with China also colored his view of Japan and the Japanese. He wrote in a War and

Peace Studies report that while "the Chinese would carry on the fight regardless of economic trials and tribulations," the Japanese were "unusually subject" to mass panic and hysteria and so could be easily defeated.[31] Asia specialists like Lattimore were in a position to influence the thinking of officials and council members who were often without recourse to second opinions on events in Asia.

Although also located on the East Coast, the Institute of Pacific Relations was focused primarily on Asia. It therefore did not struggle with the bias of Eurocentrism or lack of Asia experts as did the government and the CFR. The IPR too sought a greater role in official policymaking during the war. It aimed to establish close liaisons with key Allied governments in London, Ottawa, Canberra, and Chungking. The creation of a Washington office, however, was to be the primary driver of IPR influence. The organization hoped that proximity and personal networks would encourage officials to draw on IPR publications to inform their decisions and that IPR resources could provide official planners with "imaginative thinking about the broad problems of the war and post-war period."[32] The institute also aimed pamphlets and more popular publications at the public "to develop in America a realistic understanding of the Pacific half of the world."[33] As seen below, although the government recruited specialists from the ranks of the IPR, the group had more limited and indirect influence on policymaking than did the CFR.

The IPR's interest in the region did not begin with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War or in response to threats to American interests. All of its members were interested in Asia, and the IPR became an important source of information and expertise for the government during the war. The institute fostered its networks with policy planners and hosted conferences that, like the CFR study groups, facilitated focused debate. As an organization with an international, not only American, character, the IPR also played a crucial role by moving the debate beyond domestic forums and highlighting for American planners the different viewpoints and aims of other nations. Especially in the period before Pearl Harbor, the State Department lacked the resources to carry out extensive work on long-range issues in East Asia on its own. For this reason, the CFR and IPR were able to take on a significant role in policy planning by making their organizations available for government use.

Direct Involvement

The outbreak of war in Europe provided a catalyst for the Council on Foreign Relations to move beyond its usual activities and try to affect policy directly. In September 1939 council leaders visited Assistant Secretary of State George

Messersmith. They struck a deal for the creation of a secret project to provide the State Department with studies, memoranda, and policy recommendations based on the long-term foreign policy interests of the United States as seen by the council. The WPS was created to "investigate the effects of war upon the interests and policies of the United States, to prepare for the Government's use material bearing on the postwar settlement, and to provide background for the transmission to the office of the Secretary of State of such information and reliable opinion as may be of use in the formulation of policy."[34] Messersmith wrote that he believed the project "could prove extremely helpful" because, although the department would give thought to the same problems, "its staff was so preoccupied with current questions requiring immediate action on matters of policy that it did not have the time to devote to long-range considerations."[35] Through the WPS Project, members of the Council on Foreign Relations became "external bureaucrats," directly involved in writing draft policy memoranda.[36]

WPS working groups created reports and recommendations on specific issues at the request of State Department officials and on their own initiative. Copies of these memoranda were sent to the State Department, the president, and the vice president and were forwarded to other departments and outside individuals at the State Department's discretion. High-level officials sent glowing testimonials about the value of this secret project to the council's funding body throughout the period. In 1940 Secretary of State Cordell Hull wrote in a letter to the CFR president, Norman H. Davis, that the "excellent memoranda" of the WPS had been "very useful" and that he felt "sure that they will be of even greater use when the day for reconstruction comes at the end of histilities [*sic*]."[37] The memoranda were also circulated and commented on between government departments throughout the war. In 1944, a document entitled "Security Policy vis-à-vis Japan" was sent to the Japan Branch at the War Department for comment and back to Eugene Dooman of the State Department's Far East Division. Dooman wrote of the report, "The paper under examination is the most satisfactory discussion of the subject I have seen."[38] Such statements and decisions to circulate drafts outside the State Department demonstrate that WPS reports on Japan were integrated into government planning.

Although State Department officials chose to circulate WPS reports outside the department, the CFR kept the goal of the War and Peace Studies Project "limited to helping the State Department do its job well."[39] The decision was deliberately taken by the council because senior members agreed that the selection process for wider circulation "might be invidious," especially as distribution would have to be limited in order to keep the project secret and the reports confidential.[40] The council rejected requests from the State Department's director of the Division of Special Research, Leo Pasvolsky, and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles

for the group to distribute its memoranda more widely within the government. Although council reports were shared with other departments, the WPS continued to work exclusively with the State Department throughout its existence.

In 1942 the State Department created a postwar planning project of its own but continued working closely with the council. The WPS Project had been divided into working groups, of which the Political, Territorial, and Economic-Financial groups handled East Asian issues. The new official project mirrored this structure, and council research secretaries were hired by the government to act as liaisons between the corresponding State Department and Council on Foreign Relations committees. The decision by the secretary of state to approach official postwar planning by "setting up a parallel organization [to the WPS] within the State Department itself" was a tribute to the council's influence in policymaking.[41] The council prepared outlines for structuring the new State Department groups, although Armstrong was careful to point out that the council had no "idea of telling the State Department how it ought to organize its own work" but intended merely to facilitate decision making.[42] The new Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy, which would approve the drafts produced by the State Department's working groups, included several top representatives of the Council on Foreign Relations. Pasvolsky, who headed the whole project, was himself a council member.[43]

Cooperation between the council's War and Peace Studies and State Department committees was not always easy, however. Pasvolsky was ambitious and eager to build up his own team. He was therefore sometimes reluctant to accept CFR help and advice. Council research secretaries, hired by the government to act as liaisons between the department and council, were "rather miffed" to find they were not always welcome at meetings or privy to reports.[44] However, because training new experts was a difficult process, the War and Peace Studies Project remained an important source of policy planning long after the creation of a State Department committee. Isaiah Bowman wrote that despite the "Department's heroic efforts to assemble a team of so-called experts and train them in the preparation of memoranda on significant questions," it was not unusual that "Council Memoranda were the only things available in semi-mature form."[45] The head start provided by the WPS groups, and the inclusion of top CFR members in the Postwar Programs Committee, ensured that the council remained enmeshed in the official planning process.

The State Department's Advisory Committee was suspended in July 1943 and replaced with a series of country and area committees that prepared policies for the approval of the new Postwar Programs Committee. The council's involvement continued even after this change. The PWC was still headed by council member Pasvolsky and retained key members of the WPS, including Norman Davis and Isaiah Bowman, who had headed the WPS territorial group. In December 1944,

the State Department's Postwar Programs Committee was replaced again, this time by an interdepartmental committee, the SWNCC. Although CFR members were not included in this new committee, which was composed of department secretaries and undersecretaries, the new Far East subcommittee did contain council members. It was also given previous reports, with which the council had been involved, as a starting point for further postwar planning on Japan. Since the War and Peace Studies project was still closely involved in the Postwar Programs Committee's planning, the work of the Council on Foreign Relations thus fed directly into the official policies drafted under SWNCC and was adopted as official policy after Japan's surrender in 1945.

In keeping with the organizational outlook of the Council on Foreign Relations, the WPS project consistently provided the State Department with recommendations for increasing American influence in East Asia. This went as far as advocating the expansion of American imperialism in order to replace the crumbling European empires in Asia. In the early days of planning, uncertainty about the postwar situation made it difficult for the WPS to develop recommendations for the postwar international system. While members hoped for stability based on some kind of regional organization, they doubted the possibility of international cooperation in the Pacific. They were, however, certain of the need for an expanded American role in the region. In 1940 the WPS Territorial Group made a remarkable suggestion for increasing American influence in the Pacific. The group suggested that the United States might take on naval support of British interests in the Pacific until Britain was in a position to return with "full power and prestige," even though this could lead America into undesirable long-term imperial commitments if Britain were not able to resume her role in the region quickly.[46]

The long-term picture remained unclear after America's sudden entrance into the war. In 1942, planning for future engagement in the Pacific was difficult because council members did not know if the United States would "be forced . . . to carry heavy responsibilities in this region virtually alone," or if it would be able to share responsibilities "with other strong and reasonably stable political units."[47] In this uncertain environment, the WPS presented the option of American control over the region if "complete Asiatic freedom [from Western imperialism]" proved impractical and wrote that security had to take precedence over the aspirations of the Chinese. A report pointed to America's "good neighbor policy" in Latin America as evidence that "overwhelming power need not result in that abuse of power characteristic of imperialism."[48] In other words, American imperialism in Asia would be no bad thing. This suggestion was a radical departure from the anti-imperialism that could be seen in both official and public sentiment.

Some members of the WPS believed that, instead of an American empire, a new balance of power in Asia would be the best option for American interests.

As "Japan will no longer be in a position to act as a balance against the Soviet," this argument went, "it will be to America's interest to strengthen China to the point where that gap will be filled." Isaiah Bowman sounded an unusual note of caution against making such commitments in Asia. He noted that although America could be "forced to play an active role in Far Eastern politics" after the war, it would still be a serious decision for the American people to take.[49] The Council on Foreign Relations generally supported an active foreign policy, but its discussion groups had room for a range of options within that framework.

After the Cairo Declaration in 1943, WPS planners began to expect that international cooperation would be a key feature of postwar Asia. However, even if such cooperation were possible, WPS members concluded, any arrangements would need to recognize "widespread" American interests "throughout the Pacific." In addition, US military strength would be reinforced with installations in the Philippines and in seized Japanese territories. Members of the WPS Armaments Group expected that the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and Canada would be the great powers in the postwar Far East, with no role for Japan. Despite the involvement of many countries, Britain and the United States would dominate as the "chief nuclei" for regional organization with responsibility for enforcement in much of Asia. Russia and the United States would determine security policy for the North Pacific.[50]

Resource Sharing and Building Capacity

A major contribution of the Institute of Pacific Relations was in improving the resources available to officials for establishing a long and close engagement with Asia. The IPR was a leader in directing and publishing research on East Asia in the period. Its reports, pamphlets, and books were used by officials for information on an unfamiliar region and for analysis on Japan and postwar East Asia. A 1945 study of Korea published by the IPR is a useful example. The IPR supported the "careful research study" on a "country whose very existence [Americans] had almost forgotten" as a colony of Japan. Rather than a "quickly confected tract for the times," this research considered the resources and political situation of a poorly understood area which the Allies were about to occupy.[51] Such output provided planners and administrators with invaluable information.

These works were circulated and read by influential figures in policy circles. The publications of the IPR national committees were requested and collected by the Council on Foreign Relations library, and the New York library of the IPR was used "extensively" by government officials.[52] The Office of War Information regularly requested IPR publications to inform its work.[53] The IPR sought to

amplify this effect by circulating special confidential reports on Japan and the Far East to American and foreign officials.[54] Staff members responded to "all sorts of inquiries" on the Far East.[55] In addition to carrying out and circulating research, the IPR sought to build expertise and specialist capacity in the United States. It did this by gearing high-quality research material toward the general public in an attempt to improve the poor level of general knowledge about Asia. Finally, the IPR set up and supported Asian language courses to create a supply of Japanese-language speakers to meet postwar demands.[56]

Thinking Spaces

Another of the CFR's programs, the Far East Study Group, indirectly influenced postwar planning on Japan by providing a forum for officials and experts to discuss the future of East Asia. The study group ran annual sessions during which members would meet regularly to discuss key issues in East Asia. The group served both to educate interested council members and to provide a "thinking space" for specialists. Members of the Far East Study Group included Stanley Hornbeck, Henry Stimson—who had himself been involved in American imperialism as governor-general of the Philippines in the 1920s—and leading Asia experts and advisers.[57] Several members were later involved in the administration of the occupation of Japan. Major General Frank McCoy, for example, would become the head of the Far East Commission, which advised the supreme commander of the Allied Powers.

By creating a shared conceptual framework among influential study group members, the Far East Study Group helped to define American interests and potential actions. The study groups were useful for "clarifying and giving precision to the thinking of the participants on key issues of American foreign policy." More important, the CFR hoped that the groups would "serve as a medium in which responsible opinion may be formulated and transmitted to policy-making officials."[58] In response to Pearl Harbor, the Far East Study Group made the preparation of policy recommendations a priority.[59] Because the CFR records were closed for the lifetime of involved members, study group participants were offered a unique forum for thrashing out positions with the aid of other Asia experts and without concern for outside criticism.

Responses to Japanese Expansionism

From early on the CFR viewed Japanese expansionism as a threat to its ideal of increasing US trade and investment. At the zenith of trade in the mid-1930s,

Japan had been America's third-largest trade partner.[60] Japan remained economically important for the United States even while it pursued an aggressive foreign policy at odds with American interests. Between 1935 and 1939, fully a quarter of Japan's imports came from the United States.[61] In this period, the Far East Study Group considered the paradox of America's deep economic ties with Japan and its support for China in the Sino-Japanese War to be the key issue in East Asia.

A report of this group in 1939 explains the problem made by America's conflicting interests with Japan. Continuing trade with Japan would also require abandoning support for China. "The present policy of trading with Japan and at the same time morally supporting China makes enemies of both." Accepting Japanese expansion, "a policy of appeasement" would also act against US interests in the long run because Japanese domination in Asia would undermine American business there.[62] Influential figures voiced similar concerns in council forums. In 1940 Lattimore argued that an "unfriendly or monopolistic nation" in control of Southeast Asia would damage US interests. This was a clear reference to Japan. America was interested in raw materials located there, such as tin and rubber, as well as sea and air routes. Cordell Hull pointed out that Japanese expansion there would also threaten America's allies. It could cut Great Britain off from much-needed supplies. This would be "more damaging to British defense in Europe perhaps than any other step short of a German crossing of the channel."[63] The group thus considered an embargo against Japan to be in American interests even at the cost of losing an important trading partner.

Members continued to debate the merits of appeasement and embargo. After a series of discussions on the basis of peace between the United States and Japan a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, members agreed to a set of minimum requirements for accommodation with Japan. The United States could resume friendly relations if Japan would agree to two points: the withdrawal of troops in China to north of the Great Wall and allowing the United States greater economic security and opportunities in China. In return, study group members agreed that America could accept Indochina as a Japanese protectorate and Japan's retention of Manchuria.[64] These remarkably generous terms are explained by the group's concern for American trade interests with Japan and by the group leadership of Blakeslee, who had a great deal of sympathy for Japan. Lattimore's opposition to accommodation with Japan has already been seen. Stanley Hornbeck too was consistent and outspoken in his commitment to the return of Manchuria to China. In his copy of a China Study Group memorandum, Hornbeck double-underlined in red a passage about the importance of returning Manchuria to China and wrote "Hear hear!" in the margin.[65] He had spoken against accommodation with Japan in previous meetings, commenting that America would "get nowhere by sympathizing with Japan's needs in the

present situation."[66] However, Hornbeck had been involved in negotiations with Japan throughout the previous summer and was aware that the United States was not willing to make the concessions considered by the study group.

Barring accommodation with Japan, the study group considered the necessity of an embargo to weaken the Japanese position. One report from January 1940 explained that "there is an increased feeling that we should do something for China, and the most frequently suggested way of doing something is to embargo our exports to Japan." Other methods of checking Japan's expansion, including the threat of armed intervention, were not seriously considered by the group. Group members felt that the public supported an embargo "not because people have much conviction in this particular measure but because they felt something must be done."[67] However, the strong and opposing opinions of some members prevented the group from reaching a consensus on the issue.

William Herod of International General Electric made the case for business opposition to an embargo. He informed the group, "I do not believe in the imposition of an embargo as an expression of moral indignation." Herod argued that the use of an embargo as a political tool in any situation would be damaging to American business interests. "If we pursue an 'in and out' policy in respect to foreign trade," he explained to his fellow group members, "American foreign businesses can have little confidence in the future." Moreover, Herod stated that an embargo was likely to be costly "in the loss of trade and opportunities" and ineffective as a deterrent to Japan.[68] Nathaniel Peffer, a China expert, took a different view. He argued that "by refusing to buy goods from Japan, the United States would stop helping Japan with the war." Peffer believed that an embargo would be an effective means of reducing Japan's ability to make war in the Far East. He stated that by employing an embargo on "cotton and silk alone it would do tremendous damage."[69] This dispute was never resolved within the group, and the question of an accommodation with Japan was overtaken by events.

A New Order in the Far East

The most important question the Far East Study Group faced during the Second World War was creating a plan for what they called a "new order in the Far East." Between 1942 and 1945, study group members debated whether a balance-of-power system, regional system, or international system would best suit American interests in postwar East Asia. Nicholas Spykman, chair of the international relations department at Yale University, argued that America ought to keep postwar Japan and China balanced as powers. He explained that a weakened Japan "would be at the mercy of China." For this reason, Spykman argued, the United States should make adjustments to "allow Japan to be strong enough for self-defense

and yet prevent her from over-running China."[70] In 1944, a China study group was added to the Far East program. This group made a case similar to Spykman's, suggesting that the United States needed a strong postwar China to check Japanese resurgence. Postwar security required that China "restrain the Japanese until it is clear that their word can be trusted."[71] The Chinese-American Study Group, however, was not concerned with Japan's defense against China. It argued that Japanese heavy industry was new and entirely military in character and could be destroyed after the war.

The majority of group members supported the idea of creating a United States-dominated regional organization in postwar Asia to ensure security and economic integration. When the issue was raised in 1942, Hornbeck rejected the idea because he believed that the Allies would not be able to agree on a regional partner for the organization. He explained that the regional organization plan "raises the question as to where the center of gravity would be in the Far East. Would it be Japan or China? If the former, the United States would object; if the latter, we would approve but either the U.S.S.R. or Great Britain or some of the Dominions might object." Despite Hornbeck's comments, it was agreed at the meeting in April 1942 that the Far East Study Group "as a group," believed in "the principle of organized international cooperation for the Pacific with the United States as a partner either in a regional or global organization."[72] The group consensus was ahead of its time. Congress would pass similar resolutions a year and a half later, after an extended period of debate and public outreach. The regional organization plan later gave way to the idea of an international organization when the plan to replace the League of Nations gained saliency in postwar planning.

The Far East Study Group provided its influential members with a thinking space for reflection and hashing out ideas. Group meetings identified key issues in US-Japanese relations and postwar order in East Asia and worked to build a consensus on American strategy. The members spent time considering courses of action to curb an aggressive Japan before the war, and various international systems to replace the shattered order in postwar East Asia. Participants discussed the value and viability of building a strong regional partner, Japan or China, to work with the United States and the merits of an America-dominated regional organization. Even when consensus could not be reached, the group exposed members to a range of opinions. Many members of the study group were or would become actively involved in wartime planning or the occupation of Japan. The group thus indirectly influenced postwar planning by providing government officials, academics, and business leaders with a forum to discuss key questions of American policy in East Asia.

Social and Professional Networks

Human connections between official policymakers and think tank members were a particular strength of both the IPR and the CFR during the war. As seen above, WPS members were hired by the State Department to aid in planning, and many officials were already council members. IPR members were also recruited into official advisory positions as the government increased its resources after 1941.[73] In fact, so many IPR members had gone into government to meet war demand that the institute was forced to break tradition and invite officials to its conferences.[74] In one notable case, this absorption of personnel went in the other direction. In September 1943 Sumner Welles, former undersecretary of state and close confidant of President Roosevelt, became the branch head of the ACIPR in Washington.[75] Welles had been a favorite of Roosevelt and was seen as de facto secretary of state during his tenure because of this relationship. In 1943, however, he was forced to resign after a scandal regarding his sexual activities and orientation. Still an influential and connected figure, Welles was well placed to feed ideas from the IPR into the State Department.

As has been noted previously, Asia experts were a scarce resource in Western countries in the middle of the twentieth century. Speaking of the wartime period, one famous American scholar explained, "We all knew each other in the China field in those days."[76] Area specialists inside and outside government knew each other through previous work as colleagues in academia or public research. For example, IPR secretary William Lockwood had been a favorite graduate student of George Blakeslee, who was a council member, a founding member of the IPR, and a Far East expert at the State Department.[77] Moreover, the *Journal of International Affairs*, which Blakeslee founded, had merged with the CFR journal in 1922, and he remained on its editorial board.[78] High-level and influential members of the State Department supported the work of the institute by attending conferences and hosting informal gatherings including members. In 1945, former ambassador to Japan and current undersecretary of state Joseph Grew organized a cocktail evening and invited IPR conference attendees. Grew asked the secretary of state to attend as well, declaring that "the Institute of Pacific Relations is an important organization and I think we should support it."[79]

The high-level council members working on the War and Peace Studies Project were generally well connected with government officials. Norman Davis is an obvious example. Described by one reporter as "gray and graceful," Davis had been undersecretary of state during the Wilson administration and served as Roosevelt's "ambassador at large" in the mid-1930s.[80] He maintained friendly relations with senior government officials throughout his career. Davis was particularly

FIGURE 3.1. Secretary of State Cordell Hull with CFR president Norman H. Davis and Sumner Welles, undersecretary of state and later Washington branch head of the IPR. Library of Congress. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, item hec2009010162.

close to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. They played croquet together, and Davis regularly visited Hull at work.[81] The wives of these men were also friendly, and the couples planned vacations together.[82] Hull and Davis, at the request of President Roosevelt, had worked together to draft the "quarantine" speech given by the President in October 1937 in response to Japanese militant expansionism and the war with China.[83] Hornbeck was also on friendly terms with Davis and sent him news articles of interest on Asia.[84] While the value of such links is hard to quantify, these networks made official cooperation with the council on WPS easier than it might have been otherwise. The project also brought council members into official capacities, as several were hired by the government to continue planning work. The combination of existing relationships and the circulation of think tank members into the government thoroughly enmeshed the CFR and the IPR in the State Department's official planning. In her analysis of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the historian Tomoko Akami stated that there was a "not oppositional" relationship between liberal intellectuals and the state during the war.[85]

This point deserves to be taken further. The extent of interlinkage between the State Department and nonstate actors and the fact that many key planning figures wore both hats make it impossible to draw a clear line between these groups.

IPR Conferences

The single greatest IPR contribution to postwar planning was its domestic and international conferences. Like the CFR study groups, IPR conferences offered officials a venue for informal and unofficial discussion. What the IPR termed "conference diplomacy"—in modern political science called "track II diplomacy" or "nongovernmental and unofficial forums"—offered important benefits to official policy formulation.[86] These were semiofficial spaces, unofficial gatherings attended by officials in a private capacity. Here, information, perspectives, and ideas were shared more openly between experts and interested parties inside and outside government. During the war, the IPR hosted a number of domestic conferences through the ACIPR. These helped circulate ideas between IPR members, opinion leaders, and government officials. The national councils of other countries could also submit papers for the Americans to consider.[87] The IPR also held two international conferences, both of which considered the treatment of postwar Japan and the aims of any future occupation.[88]

Partially because of the value of the conferences as sounding boards for national policy and partially because so many IPR members were drawn into government service during the war years, the major IPR conferences included many officials acting as observers or delegates. These men attended as private individuals but because of their closeness to policymaking were considered by other attendees as representing the perspectives of their home nations.[89] In addition, attending officials brought information back to their home governments and drew on discussions while developing policy. Robert Fearey, a young IDAFE member, was appointed by the State Department group to write a paper on the possibility of creating a regency system in postwar Japan "in view of his familiarity with the discussions on this subject at the Institute of Pacific Relations conference."[90] IPR conferences brought experts together, established valuable personal working relationships, spread ideas, and generated energy around policy issues. This was particularly important because national viewpoints on the Japan question differed dramatically.

Disagreements between Allies

In order to maintain Allied unity, governments were reluctant to discuss divergent postwar plans, especially through formal channels. The treatment of postwar

Japan was a potentially explosive issue, as highlighting the different national interests of the Allies could potentially undermine the war effort. The IPR played a particularly important role in relaying viewpoints and building consensus on the Japan question. American planners intended that their country would lead policy after victory, but, as seen in previous chapters, there was no set official American line on postwar plans before summer 1945. As a result of the reluctance to share information on an official level, competing interests between the Allies, and policy uncertainty, the discussions and position papers at the wartime international conferences provided a crucial link between experts and officials from Allied nations.

Three countries dominated the debate on postwar East Asia: the United States, Great Britain, and Australia. The Soviet Union did not enter the war with Japan until August 1945. Although the Chinese delegation was outspoken at IPR conferences, the country's influence was undermined by the weakness of the KMT. The Netherlands and France maintained stakeholder positions as colonial powers but had been crippled by German occupation. Of this group, the Americans held the preponderance of power in directing Allied policy.

The head of the British Foreign Office Far Eastern Department provided a neat summary of Britain's position on postwar planning generally: "Our objectives are simple—to recover and revive our territories, to beat the Japanese and to build a better world. I do not see that we need hesitate to proclaim the programme to Americans or despair of cooperating with them on the basis of it."[91] This view, of course, was overly optimistic. Americans and other Allied nations were deeply suspicious of British imperial interests, and divergent views on Japan were a source of contention. For example, unlike the American case, in which Japan had been a lucrative market and trading partner, the possible economic rehabilitation of Japan would create a rival for British industry.[92] In addition, Britain, as an empire and a monarchy, supported a moderate policy of limited reform in postwar Japan, marked by reliance on an old guard of Westernized prewar liberals and the retention of the emperor.[93] Suspicion of continued British imperialism and concern about America's willingness to make and keep substantial postwar commitments were the main source of tension in inter-Allied planning during the early phase of the war.[94]

Australia also held a distinct line on postwar Japan. Unlike Britain or, despite the events at Pearl Harbor, the United States, Australian domestic security was directly threatened by Japanese expansion. As a result of this, the country had a significant interest in developing a system of international collective security and monitoring Japan to guard against future remilitarization. The Australian Council also called for soft peace terms on trade and recognition of some of Japan's war aims, notably ending European imperialism in the Pacific and even

the possibility of special access to the Chinese market. The Australians advocated a combination of containment and conciliation for postwar Japan.[95]

Understanding and adapting to American policy was the chief priority for postwar planning on Japan in both Great Britain and Australia. While the British did have a clear position on the Japan question, it was by no means the country's most pressing concern. British officials and politicians were willing to compromise and defer to the Americans in return for concessions elsewhere. Despite this flexibility, the British had only very limited access to detailed American plans.[96] The war revealed the illusion of security guaranteed by the British Empire, and the Australians were frustrated by Britain's "deplorable tendency . . . to relegate Australia to a subordinate status" by failing to consult with them on important issues.[97] The Australians were therefore anxious to understand American plans to contain the Japan threat and rebuild stability in the region. As the Department of External Affairs observer to the 1942 Mont Tremblant conference (discussed below) reported, achieving the postwar aims of Australia would "depend largely on the collaboration of the United States."[98] However, these allies were offered only a vague picture of a future United States policy on which their own national security depended.[99]

The Americans too used IPR conferences to gauge the aims of their allies. In December 1942, for example, Roosevelt asked his vice president, who attended the Mont Tremblant conference, if the British had taken a hard line on imperialism there.[100] Conference discussions were cited and used in State Department planning groups.[101] Given the resistance to discussing postwar plans on an official level and the importance of the issue, the wartime conferences of the IPR offered a rare and valuable chance to discuss national approaches to the question of Japan. The Institute of Pacific Research influenced the occupation of Japan by facilitating planning between the Allies.

Princeton and Mont Tremblant, 1942

By the start of the first IPR wartime conference, the national council of Japan had ceased cooperation. As there had never been councils for Italy or Germany, the IPR had become an organization of Allied member states. International conferences were regarded as "Allied policy forums," an impression reinforced by the fact that almost half of conference attendees were government officials.[102] Both the American and international conferences were instrumental in formulating plans for handling Japan after defeat. The two 1942 conferences, although held at a time when defeat of Japan was by no means a foregone conclusion, considered questions about the requirements for future peace in the Far East, the role of the United States in the region, and the future of Japan and its colonies.

The conference held at Princeton University in August set the agenda on Far Eastern postwar planning in preparation for the larger international conference at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, in December. American attendees of the Princeton conference included Stanley Hornbeck and the IPR leaders Edward Carter, William Holland, and William Lockwood. Britain's minister to the Washington embassy, the renowned scholar George Sansom, New Zealand's minister to the United States, and representatives from Canada and the Netherlands ensured that the conference included international voices. Mirroring the debate within government circles in 1942, conference members debated the merits of regional and universal security organizations, arms limitation, and control of Japan's island mandates. Attendees also discussed the treatment of Japan and its dependencies.[103]

Postwar Japan was not the focus of the Mont Tremblant conference, which centered on postwar cooperation between the Allies and the future of Europe's colonies. On the American side, the conference was attended by high-level and influential officials including Leo Pasvolsky, Undersecretary of State Adolf Berle, and Roosevelt's economic adviser, Lauchlin Currie.[104] As previously noted, the president asked about Britain's position from the conference. In addition, Currie provided Roosevelt with a written summary.[105] The conference reinforced policy networks and brought specialist attention to key issues relating to postwar East Asia. A note from Currie's correspondence reflects this. He wrote, "I attended the big IPR conference in Canada [at Mont Tremblant]. . . . I am still full of all kinds of ideas and enthusiasms for a technical mission to China for post-war reconstruction."[106] Delegations from other nations, mindful of America's failure to join the League of Nations after the First World War, pressed for American commitment to international cooperation. Referring to Roosevelt's famous "Four Freedoms" speech, one British delegate asked, "What meaning is there in the words freedom from fear if the United States goes back to isolationism?" Other delegations—particularly those from the United States, China, and Canada—questioned the European commitment to the principle of self-determination. Criticisms on this issue were leveled especially at Great Britain, which was seen as backing away from its agreement to the Atlantic Charter. A Chinese editorial noted that "if Britain and America will not keep to the principles which were laid down by themselves, there is no doubt that post-war world peace will not be realized."[107] The point neatly summarizes the criticism that dominated the Mont Tremblant conference.

Although the treatment of postwar Japan was a side issue at the 1942 conferences, it may have had an important impact in shaping policy. While the Chinese delegation called for a brief occupation of Tokyo by "Allied Asiatic troops," thinking on postwar occupations was not yet developed in 1942.[108] Attendees

did agree that defeated Japan should be disarmed and that it should be stripped of territorial acquisitions including Korea, Manchuria, and the mandated islands. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles shared these ideas and spoke at the IPR luncheon at which the conference report was made public.[109] The Welles connection is potentially significant. In fall 1943, even after he was forced to resign from his official position and took up the role of ACIPR Washington branch head, Welles remained a close confidant of Roosevelt. The two privately discussed ideas about the Cairo summit.[110] The consensus from the IPR conference, of which Welles approved, was a likely source for key agreements made at Cairo.

Hot Springs, 1945

As would have been expected in early 1945, the plans for reconstruction and postwar policy dominated the agenda of the second wartime international conference at Hot Springs, Virginia. Delegates debated issues that would determine Japan's future: the treatment of the defeated nation, the status of her colonies, reparations and industry, and collective security in the Pacific region.[111] As they had in 1942, conference members agreed that Japan should be disarmed and stripped of overseas territories and mandates. State Department officials later cited consensus at this conference between American and foreign delegates on the question of American use of Japanese bases in support of establishing "permanent [American] control" of the former mandates.[112] Fearey also informed the IDAFE of other positions taken at Hot Springs, such as treatment of Japanese private property in former territories.[113] In keeping with the ideas of the Canadian IPR member E. H. Norman, who presented a paper at the conference, the American delegation advocated limiting the influence of Japan's *zaibatsu*, or corporate combines, and urged agrarian reform to raise peasant living standards.[114] During the conference, delegates agreed that rather than impose a draconian peace, the Allies could pacify Japan by allowing it international trade and educating the Japanese people about democracy.[115]

The connections made at these conferences formed an important part of future policymaking. As one commonwealth delegate enthusiastically observed, "The value of international conferences of this kind is that in out-of-session discussions a number of persons from various countries who are working in the same field get to know each other, learn from each other and are hence better equipped to work with each other in the future."[116] Events such as the informal cocktail event hosted by Joseph Grew for IPR conference delegates formed the basis of both idea sharing and future working relationships on a national and international level. Attendees could both provide representations of

current thinking and bring new ideas from other conference attendees back into the policy circles in which they worked. Conference materials were retained for government use, and delegates had access to important official documents brought to the conferences.[117] As with other wartime projects, IPR conferences were most influential in the early phases. Although American policy was uncertain before Roosevelt's death, the outlines of planning for postwar Japan in the SWNCC were largely set well before the Hot Springs conference.

The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations exerted direct and indirect influence on official postwar planning on the future of East Asia between 1937 and 1945. The Council on Foreign Relations' War and Peace Studies Project was the most successful. Through the project, the State Department outsourced its long-range planning activities to a small section of council members. As the war progressed, the government eventually created its own planning structures, but outsourcing to think tanks remained a significant development in American policymaking. The wartime planning organization built on and mirrored CFR plans, and after the war the Policy Planning Staff, famously led by George Kennan, was established by the secretary of state to provide the State Department in-house with the long-range strategic planning that the WPS had offered in 1938.

For the Council on Foreign Relations, the WPS program was a great success. Walter Mallory wrote that the project "marked the first time, so far as I know, in which the service of private individuals, though a private organization, were put at the disposal of the Government systematically and which had a direct and continuing impact of the formulation of policy."[118] A Rockefeller Foundation report declared that "practically everything the Council did [with the WPS Project] was meshed closely into the interests and activities of the State Department's Advisory Committee, and the final results were a collaboration."[119] This program brought the voice of the Council on Foreign Relations and its support for expanding American influence and interests into official planning. A small subsection of council members became quasi-official members of the government, directly involved with the State Department in working to determine the shape of the postwar world.

The council's Far East Study Group and IPR conferences indirectly influenced postwar planning by providing its influential members with thinking spaces for reflection and for hashing out ideas. Both spaces involved official planners but also other types of American elites involved in US-Japanese relations, such as businessmen and academics. The study group framed the debate for current and future policy toward Japan and exposed members to a range of expert opinion. Many members of the wartime Far East Study Group later grappled with the key

questions debated in the council forum while actively involved in America's postwar relationship with Japan. Domestic and international conferences on Pacific relations established networks and a body of careful research for the use of planners and later administrators. This established program indirectly influenced postwar planning through honing the ideas of its members.

The IPR provided knowledge and networks that were useful throughout the planning phase and the occupation, even as the institute itself declined. Connections between officials and IPR members, as well as institute publications, allowed for a flow of information and new ideas on Japan into government policy circles. Because of the difficulties surrounding official discussion of postwar plans on an international level, IPR conferences provided a major source of information on American policy to its allies and created a forum for inter-Allied planning. This ensured that although the United States took on a leadership role in the occupation, its allies had a voice in shaping the project. Ideas put forward by think tanks were most influential in the early period, before government committees were created and basic outlines were set. However, American wartime planning for Japan continued to benefit from the involvement of nonstate actors in the process of policy creation. The work of the IPR and CFR was an integral part of bureaucratic planning. A related group, opinion leaders and media figures, also spread ideas and took an active part in official planning.

4

INFORMATION AND IGNORANCE

Media Coverage

During the war, popular media were the main source of opinion and information on postwar planning for most Americans, from politicians to ordinary citizens. Media both shaped and reflected public opinion, and media figures used their powerful positions to bring their own perspectives into formal policymaking. Radio was a new format for news, playing a leading role in wartime public discourse for the first time. Large broadcasters, like the now-familiar National Broadcast Corporation, had nationwide reach and a place in government-public relations from the 1930s. Roosevelt's prewar "fireside chats" brought the voice of the president in an informal tone to the homes of ordinary Americans on a regular basis through radio waves.

This outreach campaign is remembered as an example of the political genius of FDR, and it certainly contributed to the extraordinary popularity that allowed him to serve more terms in office than any other president in US history.[1] Radio was also used to broadcast key speeches from leading figures to explain to the masses the outlines of American foreign policy. Landmark speeches on the Far East first reached the public through the airwaves, notably Roosevelt's 1937 "quarantine" speech, which was an attempt to turn away from isolationist policy and called for firm action against "aggressor nations."[2] Roosevelt famously described December seventh, the date of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, as one "which will live in infamy." The line, which is still taught to American schoolchildren and remembered each year, first reached Americans who had tuned in to their radios in search of reassurance and explanation as their country was unexpectedly attacked and drawn into a terrible war.

Despite the rise in new technology like radio and newsreels, newspapers remained the primary format for news. They were a source of information on events as they unfolded and also provided analysis to help readers make sense of the turbulent world in which they were living. Cross-publishing, across both newspaper titles and types of media, helped to increase the impact of articles and speeches. Major speeches were broadcast on radio and reprinted in newspapers.[3] Top columnists had syndicated opinion editorials printed in papers across the country, presenting ideas from internationalists such as Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson, as well as critics of the administration such as Drew Pearson, to large swathes of American society. Lippmann, perhaps the best-known commentator on world affairs of the time, had columns reprinted in 160 newspapers with a combined circulation of eight million.[4] This kind of cross-printing was also seen across formats; for example, a high-impact article in *Life* magazine would be reprinted whole or in digest form in other magazine titles and major newspapers. Taken together, official speeches and editorials formed the basis of popular understanding about plans for the postwar world, while popular films and magazine pieces provided images and cultural context. This combination amplified particular points of view and helped homogenize public perception across the vast United States.

As the major source of information available to the public on current and foreign affairs, popular media played an important role in both reflecting and shaping public opinion. However, there are limitations on the conclusions one can draw from this source. Basic problems emerge in using popular media to evaluate public opinion. Journalists and editors had an interest in publishing controversial or popular viewpoints in order to attract an audience or sell print publications, regardless of their personal opinions. Popular media also provided a platform for the ideas of media figures, especially editors, who were driven by a desire to proselytize on behalf of their own beliefs. In addition, the arguments and opinions of better-informed journalists were curtailed or oversimplified in keeping with the limits of public interest and understanding.[5] Public opinion polls in the period reveal a shocking ignorance of basic knowledge about the world, and especially Asia. In a public survey carried out in 1940, for example, respondents expressed opinions on Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia and an oil embargo, but only 1.3 percent claimed to know where Singapore, a strategically important British holding, was located.[6] The geography, history, politics, and cultures of East Asia in the American mind were like the blank interiors of unexplored continents in maps from previous centuries. Finally, the images and tropes used in the media can rarely be linked clearly to policymaking. The relationship between media, public opinion, and politicians' perception of opinion and decision making is complex.[7]

Despite these serious limitations, examining popular media is useful for capturing a sense of the public mood. This is clear from the interest that political leaders took in popular media and in newly created scientific opinion polls. Certainly, contemporary politicians were greatly concerned with the media as both an indicator of public opinion on specific issues and a powerful factor in forming that opinion. President Roosevelt, for example, requested and read weekly reports on these op-ed pieces and surveys of newspaper clippings.[8] Foreign leaders also had access to American media output. As domestic politicians used summaries of the press in order to understand their constituents, America's allies used them to draw conclusions about US interests and intentions.[9] This window, dim and distorting as it may have been, was especially important in subjects like postwar planning on which US diplomats were secretive or unclear about national aims. Although using popular media to evaluate public opinion can be problematic, American and Allied policymakers did use it for that purpose. The media were therefore the major connection between the American public and American policymaking. And to the extent that they did convey a sense of the public mood in a broad sense, media indicators are important in understanding how Americans thought about the role of their country in Asia and the future of Japan.

Public relations and popular opinion are only a part of the story of how the media influenced American policy toward Japan. During World War II, the journalists, editors, politicians, and bureaucrats who published on this question were influential not just because of their connection to the reading public but also as a result of their ties to policymaking circles. This group of opinion leaders targeted planners, not the public, for their audience. Wartime publications—popular newspaper opinion columns, specialist book series, and journal articles—provided a source of information and analysis to policymakers. As seen in the previous chapter, elites outside government were drawn into planning by quasi-official activities and personal connections. More than simply outlining a range of available options to decision makers, these men became a part of the debate—a crucial component in the policymaking process.

What made the media and figures considered here important was not only that they dealt with the relevant questions but that their work was read and relied upon by policymakers during the war. It became part of the official planning process and influenced the as-yet-unwritten policy on the treatment of Japan. It is clearly difficult to measure the impact and chart the spread of ideas. However, through the personal correspondence of decision makers and thinkers, it is possible to reconstruct what sources planning figures were reading, recommending, and discussing among themselves.[10] This circulation moved ideas in both directions. In many cases, the thinking of government experts and media figures became integrated into books and articles that they read and commented on

before publication. Opinion leaders also wielded influence as editors and simply as connected elites. Publishers and editors played a key role in relaying published information to target audiences, acting as gatekeepers through their power to select the opinions and ideas made available through their platforms. *Foreign Affairs*, *Pacific Affairs*, and *Amerasia*, all tied to the think tanks considered in the previous chapter, are examples of publications that expressed elite opinion.

Published material was not the only, or even the most important, connection between opinion leaders and policymakers on the Japan question. Media elites, bureaucrats, and politicians also shared ideas informally through telephone conversations, over dinners, and at social events. Especially powerful or respected figures were invited to become involved in planning committees and informal deliberation. This group was particularly influential because its reach was not limited by hierarchies and rival centers of planning. Political leaders, high-level bureaucrats, and low-level area experts all grappled with the ideas promoted by opinion leaders during the war. Taken together, popular and specialist publications formed the basis of elite discourse on East Asia. They filled the sea of ideas in which policymakers swam. The men behind those publications, tied to planners by personal and professional relationships, swam alongside them.

Reporting on Asia

Prior to 1941, most Americans with personal experience in China fell into one of two camps. They were either, like Roosevelt's maternal grandfather, businessmen interested in China trade or, like the parents of many midcentury Asia experts, missionaries. America was not unique in this respect. Missionaries and traders were at the forefront of early East-West interactions. Missionaries went to places other Westerners did not go, interacted with locals as they made converts and provided social services, and remained in the country for extended periods. As a result, they had a special position as the face of their home country abroad and were also key sources back home of information about exotic locales.[11] Because of differences in the treaties China and Japan had signed with the Western countries in the mid-nineteenth century, the missionary link was far stronger with China. The connection resulted in a sense of a historical "special relationship" for the United States and created the impression of a China in need of American help.

Events in the early 1930s also swayed popular sympathy toward China ahead of the coming crisis. Chiang Kai-shek's conversion to Christianity endeared his regime to existing Sinophiles, many of whom came from missionary backgrounds, and helped to make the Chinese appear more like the Christian majority

United States. The most famous novel on China, *The Good Earth*, first published in 1931, was made into an Academy Award–winning film in 1938. Its author, Pearl S. Buck, was raised in China by missionary parents and developed a rosy image of that country based on the foggy and uncritical nostalgia of childhood.[12] Buck parlayed her popularity into the publication of pro-Chinese articles in the American media. In addition to the China hands active within the government, influential figures like Buck, media mogul Henry Luce, and Owen Lattimore championed China in the national press.

Many American reporters preferred working in China to working in Japan, partially because it had a larger established expatriate community. The majority of reporting on the Sino-Japanese conflict was done in China, which meant that American reporters saw the war alongside the Chinese. Foreign journalists experienced Japanese aerial bombings on Chungking, even sharing shelters with Chinese officials, and these reports were subject to Chinese censorship before transmission.[13] Official censorship was matched by self-censorship by journalists. The American war correspondent Martha Gellhorn stated that self-censorship, created by a sense of obligation to powerful Chinese hosts, had been the greater hindrance to accurate reporting.[14] Nationalistic support of an American ally, the belief that criticism of China would strengthen the position of an aggressive Japan, and a professional desire to be allowed to return to China all served to soften reporting on China by American reporters in and out of the country.[15]

In contrast to China coverage, the 1930s media portrayed Japan as a dangerous actor, even as business links between the countries continued. Unlike China, Japan had not been home to large numbers of American missionaries or businessmen and had no equivalent to the open door sponsorship on which to hang a narrative of patronage.[16] The country also lacked popular champions in the American media. China was praised for its affinity with the United States as a "democratic-type" society by Luce, Buck, and Lattimore, creating a false impression of Chinese politics in American minds. Japan, which had a Western-style constitution and parliament and since 1925 had had universal male suffrage, was not referred to as a democracy or a democratic-type society in public discourse.[17] For informed citizens, Japan menaced America's colony in the Far East, the Philippines. In the 1930s the danger of Japan's swallowing whole a newly independent Philippines was a major factor in slowing American disengagement there.[18] In the run-up to Pearl Harbor, the press was vocal in supporting China by pushing for an embargo against Japan. The resulting pressure to take a tough line with Japan caused Roosevelt to complain to his secretary of the interior, "I think the whole business of exports to Japan was made difficult by the press and the press only."[19] Government reports noted that "an extraordinarily bellicose tone toward Japan" in the press was not reflected in Gallup polls surveying public opinion.[20]

The aggressive stance may have been intended to attract an audience to a topic of limited general interest.

The crisis in the Far East was far from the top of the national agenda. Media support for action in East Asia was predicated on the assumption that involvement would not be costly for the United States. Concern for China did not translate into public support for serious American intervention in the conflict. Gallup polls in 1937 and 1938 demonstrated that the vast majority of Americans wanted to limit US interests in the area by having its nationals leave the country and were opposed to loans or arms shipments to China.[21] Although the subject was certainly covered by the press, the Sino-Japanese War was treated as a "distant sideshow," far less important than domestic issues or events in Europe.[22]

Racism and anti-Asian sentiment were common strands in American thought prior to World War II. During the war, however, negative racial stereotyping was made more complicated by the fact that America's chief ally and its enemy in the Pacific were both Asian nations. In 1942, the liberal columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick declared optimistically that ideology alone, not race, would be an issue in the war. The "color line," she wrote, had been "broken down" by axis aggression, so that "light peoples and dark peoples [could] see that the peril is not yellow or white. China is on our side and Japan is on Germany's because common ideas override superficial differences."[23] This idea was further reinforced by stories of loyalty and shared suffering endured by Filipinos after Japan's occupation of the American colony.[24] As one article noted, the Filipinos, "representing many different racial strains, have proved themselves to be as fine a people as is to be found anywhere on this earth."[25] As seen in chapter 2, the Office of War Information actively discouraged Hollywood from employing racist characterizations in film depictions of the Japanese and was concerned that the Japanese people be separated from their leadership in the public mind.

From the outbreak of the war, media coverage reinforced existing support for China, highlighting its long resistance against what had now become a common enemy. The impression of China as a strong ally with deep political, cultural, and spiritual commonalities to the United States was supported by sympathetic journalists and well-regarded patrons. *Time* responded to the Asian issue by attempting to differentiate the Chinese from the Japanese in racial and cultural terms. In late December 1941 it published a feature piece to help readers distinguish "your friends" the Chinese from "Japs," using a checklist of physical and behavioral characteristics. Chinese facial expressions, for example, were "more placid, kindly, [and] open," while Japanese were "dogmatic, [and] arrogant."[26] Chinese were taller, not stocky, and had toe placement similar to that of Europeans. By reporting that the Chinese were physically closer to Europeans, *Time* created a comforting narrative for the American public of a people "like us."

An optimistic view of China as an ally was also reflected in the media and in public expectations for the country's future. Vice President Henry Wallace announced in a national radio broadcast that trade with China and Russia would revitalize the American Pacific Northwest region and create factory jobs that would smooth the transition back to a peacetime economy. Japan, which had been America's largest trade partner and the most developed economy in the region, was notably absent from Wallace's "Era of the Pacific."[27] But trade and investment were not the only benefits postwar China had to offer. Pearl S. Buck anticipated that China would make moral and political contributions to the coming new world order. "What has China to offer a post-war world?" Buck asked in a speech at New York's Carnegie Hall, "China will be the wisest of all. She will have more than any other country to contribute to that [postwar] world out of her 4,000 years of human history, out of her wisdom in human relationships, out of her knowledge of the human mind and its behavior, and out of her conviction of the worth of the individual."[28] Such statements built up unrealistic expectations about the contributions of this war-torn and politically unstable nation.

While in-country reporting certainly helped foster sympathy for China, it also resulted in negative accounts once perceptions began to change. As the American congressman Walter Judd pointed out, reporters rarely had the benefit of long experience in the country. As a result, Americans were "being deluged nowadays with a flood of reports from people who do not have an adequate background of experience in Asia."[29] Lacking context, such reports were based on brief impressions and previously held ideas. New correspondents were influenced by early overenthusiastic accounts of a country led by selfless and noble leadership. A report from Britain's Washington embassy noted in July 1944 that "those sections of the public who think about it at all are now rather bewildered. They are beginning to doubt whether China will be a friendly democracy protecting American interests in the Pacific and whether the China market will be so lucrative after all."[30] Once skepticism set in, Americans unfavorably compared the China they encountered to a previously held idealized version or to the United States itself.

Media coverage of the war also helped to harden views against Japan, an enemy nation. The Japanese were portrayed as fanatical, deeply conformist, and even subhuman. The wartime press depicted them using the images of monkeys and described the nation's population as a mere collection of "reproductions from the same negative."[31] Such characterizations, combined with accounts of war crimes, "eroded nearly all compassion for the Japanese, soldiers or civilians" in the United States.[32] Revelations in 1944 boosted anti-Japanese sentiment and led to calls for retribution in place of a soft peace. Reports on the Bataan Death March and the abuse of prisoners of war were released in January of that year.[33] These were followed by desperate and bloody battles as America's island-hopping

campaign moved forward. A *Time* piece published in August described to readers the "gruesome deeds, incomprehensible to the occidental mind" of Japanese civilians who "elected to die for the Emperor."[34] Accounts of fighting to the death and civilian suicide reinforced the existing characterization of the Japanese as racially distinct fanatics.

No clear policy on postwar Japan was made available to the public during the war. Outreach and public relations campaigns were carried out by government agencies and congressmen to prepare the public for a soft peace and a more active American role. Because of the policy confusion under President Roosevelt, however, there were no officially adopted plans to publicize. It was not clear until the late spring of 1945 that the SFE recommendations, approved by top advisers, would be the basis of policy toward Japan. Furthermore, it was felt that public discussion about postwar plans could put the administration in a difficult position. Committing to a set position during the war would make it more difficult to make concessions to allies or change course if the situation required. While using the media as a mechanism for informing the public about major decisions and nonsecret international agreements, the administration aimed to limit discussion of the postwar world in the press.[35] "I have not the slightest objection towards your trying your hands at an outline of the postwar picture," Roosevelt told planners, but he cautioned, "For heaven's sake don't even let the columnists hear of it."[36] The government's plans for dealing with defeated Japan were largely a mystery to ordinary Americans.

Despite these limitations, major newspapers were able to provide readers with a remarkable range of voices on the subject of postwar Asia. They offered citizens considerable insight into the thinking of the official and unofficial groups examined in this study. Letters to the editor, book reviews, reprinted speeches by leading figures, and conference summaries provided nuanced perspectives on the Japan question. Many of these views, especially from officials or experts close to official planning circles, were quite close to the IDAFE's recommendations. Joseph Grew's 1943 speaking tour in particular brought the debates from closed planning circles into the public sphere. As did the Far East planning group, Grew argued before the public that it would be "folly" to make Japan a permanent outcast from the family of nations. Whereas retribution would leave Japan "a festering sore" on the international body politic, stability depended on convincing the Japanese people that they stood to "gain by playing the game with the rest of the world," especially in terms of economic growth and trade.[37] This sentiment was echoed throughout the war as the press covered liberal and intellectual groups like the Universities Committee on Post-war International Problems and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.[38] The postwar planning commission of the latter group was chaired by John Foster Dulles, at the time

a well-connected Republican political adviser. Its recommendations reflected the key points developed by the IDAFE. Postwar Japan would be demilitarized and "re-educated" by fostering prewar "liberal elements," made a member of the international community, and given access to markets.[39] Such thinking was at the heart of bureaucratic plans and was reported on in the press.

Media coverage also offered views that were not included in official planning, including calls for a tough peace or for vengeance against the enemy. Book reviews provided neat summaries of alternative plans. *Pacific Charter*, written by a New York Times correspondent, declared that the Pacific theater of World War II was not a war against the militarists currently in power but against "Japan, the nation, the race." The book called for Japan's towns and villages to be crushed after the war so that the "Japanese people will know from their own experience what they have been inflicting on other peoples."[40] A 1945 *New York Times* book review began with a disturbing anecdote about well-heeled Americans at a dinner party cheerfully discussing wiping out the population of Japan after the war. The writer made a blithe segue to reviewing a work by the longtime Japan resident Wilfrid Fleisher, asking, "Assuming . . . that we can't and won't kill 73,000,000 people—what can we do with them?" Major George Fielding Eliot's *Hour of Triumph* took quite a different approach. He warned that plans focusing on preventing future violence by containing current enemies were short-sighted. While agreeing that postwar Japan would need to be monitored but also allowed industry and trade, he pointed out that "60,000,000 Japanese can't live by raising rice." Eliot anticipated future causes of unrest. Focusing on Japan and Germany at the expense of anticolonialism in Asia and Anglo-American rivalry with Russia in Europe, he argued, would be dangerous. Postwar plans for Japan, he wisely noted, were "in danger of preparing to avert the last war, not the next."[41] Wartime coverage of postwar plans thus exposed readers to a range of nuanced and informed opinion in addition to racist and extreme views.

Opinion Leaders and Circulating Ideas

Like most Americans, politicians and bureaucrats read opinion pieces and analysis in popular publications. In addition to providing thoughtful analysis of current events, these writings were used by elected officials to evaluate the public mood. Opinion pieces were read by congressmen and other officials, who corresponded with their authors and debated the ideas they presented. Popular opinion writers therefore had an outsized role in the thinking of the nation's leaders. During the war prominent figures stood out in their influence on Washington thinking, including the author and columnist Walter Lippmann and the

publisher Henry Luce. Popular media brought the ideas of these men on the subject of American foreign policy out of the public realm and into the halls of power.

Walter Lippmann

Walter Lippmann enjoyed influence during the war as a result of his published work. A native New Yorker, he attended Harvard six years behind FDR.[42] As

FIGURE 4.1. Walter Lippmann. Harris & Ewing, photographer. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, item hec2009008394.

the author of several well-received books and a widely syndicated columnist, Lippmann was already an established public intellectual in the years before the war.

His first book, published in 1912 when Lippmann was just twenty-three years old, was admired by Teddy Roosevelt, who began correspondence with the young writer.[43] Lippmann then served during the Great War as the youngest member of "the Inquiry," Woodrow Wilson's postwar planning project.[44] As a result of this experience, he well understood the problems faced by planners in World War II. He had even worked with a few figures, such as James T. Shotwell and Isaiah Bowman, who were involved in both the CFR and State Department planning projects. Lippmann considered himself a political realist, but, like Henry Luce, he advocated a more active American engagement in world affairs.[45] For Lippmann, protecting American interests, military and strategic, ought to be the primary driver of American policy. His column on current affairs and American foreign policy, "Today and Tomorrow," was read by millions of ordinary Americans as well as the leading lights of the establishment and was brought into debates on foreign policy and the postwar world. Congressmen with quite different views wrote him throughout the war to praise or challenge his articles, and his work was also read into the *Congressional Record*.[46]

Senior statesmen professed themselves to be deeply influenced by Lippmann's publications. In 1940 Edward Stettinius, then administrator of the lend-lease program and later to become secretary of state, wrote to praise a recent article and declared that he had "followed [Lippmann's] writings for years." James F. Byrnes, who would succeed Stettinius as secretary of state, also felt "compelled" to write Lippmann in June 1945 to share his thoughts on an article about postwar power structures. Outside the State Department, Henry Stimson remarked that he agreed with Lippmann's approach to postwar planning and informed the journalist, "I have been recommending a reading of your book to everybody that I can."[47] Although not a policymaker himself, Lippmann became an important figure in postwar planning as a result of the currency of his ideas in newspaper articles and book publications. The approval of the figures he influenced was needed to move SFE policy drafts up for presidential consideration before they could become policy, and congressional support was needed to fund any planned occupation or reorientation efforts, as well as to ratify a peace treaty with defeated Japan.

What kinds of ideas did Lippmann spread with regard to Japan? Like many generalists, he focused his attention mainly on the Atlantic and relations with European powers. However, as the Far Eastern crisis began to threaten American security, leading to war against Japan, Lippmann's views on US-East Asian relations underwent a significant shift. In 1931, he had argued that the United States ought not to become involved in the Manchurian crisis because it had "no

particular political interest" in the "whole great region." Rather, he believed that any response to the crisis should be taken by nations that, unlike America, had a "definite stake in the area."[48] Already by 1937, this viewpoint was coming under scrutiny. In a review of an article Lippmann submitted to *Foreign Affairs*, the editor and then close friend Hamilton Fish Armstrong remarked that he ought to make it clear in his piece that the United States did in fact have important interests in what Armstrong called the "Eastern Pacific."[49] During the war, Lippmann's best-selling book *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* revealed the dramatic turn his thinking had taken. Moving on from his prior view that East Asia was a region in which the United States had no significant interests, Lippmann argued that from the nineteenth century the United States had "placed itself at the geographical center of the empires of Eastern Asia" with the acquisition of Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines.[50] This change was crucial to Lippmann's views on American relations with the nations of the northern Pacific because in his conception of foreign policy, "interest" was the prerequisite for heavy involvement abroad. It was also an influential view. Hull and Stimson debated Lippmann's ideas as expressed in the book shortly after its publication. Stimson specifically urged Hull to read again the chapter on "historical analysis of American policy," which outlined America's deep and entrenched interests in the Pacific.[51]

From 1943 until the end of the war, Lippmann's recommendations for the treatment of postwar Japan remained unsettled and even contradictory. He neatly described his stark view of an empire-less Japan's future as a sidelined nation: "She is to be an island nation near a continent where she has no foothold, and in an ocean which others command."[52] The problems Lippmann foresaw in dealing with defeated Japan were twofold. First, the Allies needed to create a peace treaty and postwar order that the Japanese themselves would accept. Like the area specialists drafting Japan policy in the SWNCC, Lippmann argued that a harsh or punitive peace could not last. Japan had to be assured access to markets and raw materials and must "be able to earn a decent living peaceably." His reasoning for this position, however, was slightly different from SWNCC's, for it was based on a conservative assessment of America's ability to impose terms or radical changes on a foreign country. In stark contrast to the far-reaching plans being developed within the government, Lippmann's view rejected the proposition that America should "run" postwar Japan during a transformative occupation because "we cannot manage a Japanese revolution."[53]

Lippmann drew his second idea on the danger of postwar Japan from the balance-of-power arguments of Professor Nicholas Spykeman.[54] He argued that the potential existed for Japan's power to be reconstituted as a counterweight in case of any postwar rivalry between the Allies. Discord between China, Russia, and the United States might lead any one of those countries to support a Japanese

revival and court the former enemy for support. In *U.S. War Aims*, Lippmann argued that there was a possibility of strife between any of the big three Allied powers in East Asia, but he thought it most likely that China or Russia would support Japan in order to strengthen its position in any territorial conflict along their long shared land border.[55] It was therefore competition between the Allies that might make Japan a danger in the future.

Despite confirmed American interests in Asia and the potential for postwar Japan to be a possible source of rivalry, Lippmann held the unusual position that the United States should not take leadership in handling Japan after the war. Rather, he argued that China ought to take the initiative in reconstruction and rehabilitation and have the final say in the length and character of the occupation, as well as in any issues of reform that might arise. This position was radically different from the mainstream belief of the Allies as well as Washington that the United States ought to set the agenda for Japan and international security in the Pacific. Where might such an unorthodox idea have come from? No expert on Asia, Walter Lippmann was himself deeply influenced by the ideas of Owen Lattimore on China.[56] In common with many leading figures, including President Roosevelt, Lippmann believed that "the peace of the Pacific has turned and will turn upon China," which would emerge from the war as a "new great power in the modern world."[57] While such an optimistic appraisal of Chinese power was common, the idea that China would not only participate in but would lead the occupation of Japan was not.

Readings of Lippmann, a well-known and respected analyst, thus reinforced the hopeful thinking and expectations about China's role in the postwar world, which would ultimately be disappointed. Thus, although he was in accord with the idea that peace terms would have to be soft enough that the Japanese would accept them over time without coercion and enforcement, Lippmann's ideas on the nature of the occupation of postwar Japan were fundamentally at odds with those circulating at the lower levels of policymaking, the levels where the drafting of recommendations took place. In common with Roosevelt but unlike Asia experts, Lippmann advocated ceding policy control in the Pacific to a precarious ally.

Specialists and Spreading Ideas

In addition to reading and responding to published material, policymakers were often invited by writers to comment on prepublication drafts of essays and articles. In this way they became engaged in the ideas circulated in the media in a more complex fashion, both shaping and being shaped by media discourse. This is not surprising, given the small field of intellectuals interested in East Asia; the movement of people between academia, think tanks, the media, and government

during the war; and the personal relationships between officials and experts as members of the same social circles. Examples of this kind of collaboration abound. Stanley Hornbeck, the former head of the State Department's Far Eastern department and influential Sinophile, sent Lippmann a memorandum of his "observations" on the collapse of the Hull negotiations, which led to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although Lippmann did not cite the memorandum, it is possible that Hornbeck's views on Japan and China, which were similar to Owen Lattimore's, contributed to Lippmann's perspective on the Far East presented in his wartime publications.[58] Lippmann in turn both offered comments on a draft manuscript for Stettinius and asked Grew to read and give opinions on Japan-related sections of his own book manuscript.[59] This practice was also common within respected but unofficial policy circles. In 1941, John Foster Dulles, who was then working on postwar planning within the Christian community and would later become secretary of state, wrote to the secretary of the American Council, Edward C. Carter, to comment on a draft monograph, "Postwar Worlds," before its publication.[60]

One particularly good example of the way in which these draft reviews helped circulate ideas begins with Joseph Grew's prereading of "What Future for Japan?," a draft article by the Asia specialist Lawrence K. Rosinger.[61] Grew offered suggestions for Rosinger to incorporate, including disagreements with some of the author's assumptions about postwar Japan. In his comments, Grew noted that "among all the papers on our post-war relations with Japan that I had read, I am particularly impressed with that of George Sansom, read before the Council [*sic*] of Pacific Relations."[62] Grew's comment about the IPR demonstrates the extent to which ideas gained currency and permeated intellectual circles. Influential ideas not only spread through direct transmission but also became part of the landscape.[63] A month later, Grew sent both Rosinger's draft article and his own comments to Navy Secretary James Forrestal, suggesting that they meet over lunch and discuss the ideas presented. "I am sure," Grew wrote, "that a talk [about the treatment of postwar Japan] would be mutually helpful."[64] Although no record exists for this and other informal meetings, they form an important part of consensus building among officials. Such discussions, sparked by media articles, brought the State and Navy Departments closer together and had a direct impact on American policy toward postwar Japan.

Gatekeepers to Publication

Editors were powerful figures in the unfolding debate among opinion leaders. By serving as gatekeepers to publication, editors decided what information would be

disseminated. This was the case not only in the traditional popular media but also in the specialist publications created by think tanks. In Western political systems, think tanks have become a common source of unofficial information, research, and analysis for government use. In the United States, this process began during the Second World War, when a few early think tanks worked to influence American foreign policy through research output and other activities.[65] The Council on Foreign Relations and the Institute of Pacific Relations were major sources of information on East Asia during this period. Niche publications like the CFR's *Foreign Affairs* and the IPR's journal titles and book series were targeted toward area specialists and policymakers. These efforts had particular importance for the issue of Japan planning because the low level of general knowledge about Asia increased the need that government officials had for information and analysis as American interaction with Asian countries increased. In addition, the work of individual think tanks was amplified by the small number of such organizations in existence at the time.

Luce and Time Inc.

Henry Luce, head of Time Inc. and a commentator in his own right, played a double role as author and editor. In common with many Westerners interested in Far Eastern affairs in the 1930s and 1940s, he had been the child of missionaries stationed in Asia. He was born in Shandong, China, at the end of the nineteenth century, and his upbringing deeply influenced his worldview. As an adult Luce felt sympathy with Nationalist China and a missionary zeal for spreading American values around the globe through a robust and active foreign policy.[66] Encouraging the support and development of China using the patronage of the United States, which he saw as a mutually beneficial relationship, was a driving passion in his life.

In 1941, he wrote his most influential piece, an editorial in *Life* entitled "The American Century." The article was circulated widely. First published in a magazine with a readership of three million, it was reprinted in other publications, with abstracts appearing in the *New York Times* and other newspapers.[67] Luce's piece was a call for robust American internationalism and assumption of global leadership. It was published during, and became absorbed into, the debate between isolationist and interventionists over the role of the United States in the world. Public comments poured in from around the country in response to the piece, and politicians took the ideas to the floors of Congress.[68] Luce's arguments were taken up by interventionists. Representative Martin Kennedy, for example, specifically invoked the "American century" in support of a resolution he put before the House of Representatives in March 1941.[69] Of course, not all official response to

Luce's article was positive. In 1942 Vice President Wallace criticized the American century thesis in an article of his own, arguing that the future ought not to be dominated by one nation but by the common mass of people globally.[70] Regardless of whether one agreed, however, Luce's arguments could not be ignored. They had become deeply influential in the discourse on America's Asia policy.

Luce's beliefs had implications for postwar planning on Japan. He thought that America had a special destiny as the inheritor of Western civilization and that Asia would desire, take up, and benefit from American technology, culture, and patronage. The article reinforced the circulating ideas that China would become the new Asian Great Power and America's most important ally in the Pacific, supplanting Japan as the most modern and powerful Asian nation. This vision of postwar East Asia imagined a diminished world status for Japan, making its future less important. But Luce's call for his country to commit itself to the spread of American values worldwide also fitted neatly with the idea of a long, potentially expensive American intervention in postwar Japan. The bold naïveté of the American century was reflected in the most radical proposals for how Americans might deal with defeated Japan.

It is difficult to overestimate the place of Luce's Time Inc. in American life during the late 1930s and World War II. Its major output comprised three magazine titles—*Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. *Time* and *Life* were popular, accessible publications. *Life* in particular used an image-heavy format to appeal to the middle classes. *Fortune*, better researched and more reflective, targeted a narrower audience of educated businessmen. In addition to these publications, Time Inc. increased its media presence with widely consumed newsreels and radio programs. It has been estimated that by the end of the war thirty million Americans read or at least skimmed a Time Inc. publication every week.[71]

Henry Luce took a deep editorial interest in the content of his publications. Two issues, both tied to the treatment of Japan, were of particular interest to him: representations of China and postwar planning. His sympathies toward China in general and the Nationalist regime in particular were reflected in the editorial policy of Time publications, especially following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In a demonstration of the popular publication's support, the Chiangs were named "Man & Wife of the Year" by *Time* in 1937. The corresponding article offered a characteristically positive view of the US-educated Madame Chiang, noting that "no woman in the West holds so great a position as Mme. Chiang Kai-shek holds in China. Her rise and that of her husband, the Generalissimo, in less than a generation to moral and material leadership of the ancient Chinese people cover a great page of history."[72] Luce used such promotion, in addition to positive accounts and simplifications, to help American readers relate to China in order to generate support for his view of the country.[73]

Luce's dogged support for the KMT and editorial intervention along these lines drew both support and criticism among contemporaries and is remembered by historians as the hallmark of his editorial influence. In 1946 the China expert John Fairbank remarked that Luce, in his support for Chiang, had "prostituted the truth and his own staff for policy purposes."[74] Criticisms of the regime and reports of political instability in China did find their way into Time Inc. publications from time to time, but editors and journalists were aware of Luce's slant and altered their work to accommodate it. In 1942 Buck wrote to Luce with a general overview of their shared position on China's value to the United States and ended the letter with the comment that she would like to write a piece on the subject for *Life* "with pleasure and wrath."[75] Despite this common ground and Buck's writing the article with Luce in mind, the piece she submitted was critical of the corruption that permeated the KMT. After some personal struggle over printing a perspective he disagreed with and that he believed would be harmful to the cause so near his heart, Luce decided to run the article, rationalizing that he did "not want to be found guilty of misleading the American people" by failing to report on negative developments in China.[76] Still, such decisions were rare and remained firmly in the hands of one powerful figure.

Henry Luce became interested in postwar planning quite early. Days after Pearl Harbor, *Time* inaugurated what it called its "Q" or "Postwar" Department. The group was meant to provide all Time Inc. publications with articles and opinion pieces on the coming world. The group was quiet until 1943, when Luce became more actively engaged with its work. In February of that year, he visited Washington to meet with the nation's top officials in order to better understand the state and content of government planning.[77] After his return from Washington he became more involved in the group, rechristened the Policy Formulation Committee, attending brainstorming sessions and providing his own opinions for circulated memos.[78] Although he delegated day-to-day work to editors, Luce maintained final authority over decisions across Time Inc. titles and expected publications to reflect his own views. As he reminded his editors, "If there is any gospel around here it is the Post-War Memos," which he approved and circulated.[79] Luce's need to delegate and his willingness to accept some opposing views undermined the totality of his influence as editor. However, his ideas, well known and deeply entrenched on two issues close to the Japan question, certainly indicate the importance of Henry Luce as a gatekeeper to the news and views presented in America from 1937 until 1945.

Carter, Holland, and the IPR

The Institute of Pacific Relations was a powerhouse for information and analysis on the Far East during the war. The reports, pamphlets, and books it pro-

duced were used by officials for information on an unfamiliar region and for analysis on Japan and postwar East Asia. Its national council system structure, well-funded research programs, and recognized status as the leading—indeed, only—organization focused on the Pacific region gave the IPR a unique ability to support and disseminate material on the regional crisis that became the Pacific theater of World War II. In the United States and across the English-speaking world, it was the major vehicle for collaboration between East Asia experts and for initiating and publishing research on the region. As John Fairbank explained, "In the 1930s and '40s a great part of the literature available in English on contemporary East Asia was produced . . . under . . . [the] inspiration and supervision [of the IPR]."[80] The most important of the IPR publication series were its quarterly journal *Pacific Affairs*, biweekly American Council periodical *Far Eastern Survey*, and its book publication series, the Inquiry. The volume of output during the war is truly staggering: it has been estimated that between 1937 and 1945, the IPR sponsored the publication of 1,961 articles and book reviews and 384 books and pamphlets.[81]

The research output of the IPR during the war was not only the result of circumstance. Three editors of IPR publications—Edward C. Carter, Owen Lattimore, and William Holland—agreed that the organization ought to become policy-relevant by shifting its focus toward current affairs. Ed Carter had been a figure in Pacific relations circles even before the creation of the IPR in 1925 and was respected as a man who had taught Chinese to a generation of missionaries.[82] In 1933 he became secretary-general of the IPR and threw his support behind proposals to move the IPR's headquarters from Hawaii to New York. With the move, the organization shifted its focus from economics and culture to politics and international relations. The developing crisis in Asia further reinforced this trend.[83]

The new direction within the organization was reflected in the types of articles printed in *Far Eastern Survey*, established in 1932. The content of its early issues was in keeping with the traditional scholarly and economic focus of the organization as a whole. Articles on Japan were concerned with fisheries, trade, industry, and materials like steel, coal, and iron.[84] However, when the American government and public began to look toward the world after war in 1943, the *Far Eastern Survey* devoted its pages to the postwar Pacific. Wartime issues considered topics such as postwar trade relations, education in defeated Japan, postwar international agreements, and collective security.[85]

Owen Lattimore, that impassioned advocate of Nationalist China, served as the editor of the IPR's quarterly journal *Pacific Affairs* throughout the Far Eastern crisis until his appointment as Roosevelt's political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. During his tenure, Lattimore's own work interests were reflected in his editorial decisions. In the 1930s and 1940s, he championed the cause of American intervention

and support to the region and maintained his lifetime research interest in northern China and Mongolia, where he had traveled on a 1,400-mile camel caravan journey in the 1920s.[86] For example, the edition released after the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 mirrored his political and geographical interests by including an update on the state of the communists in northern China by the famous radical journalist Edgar Snow, and articles on strengthening China through rural reforms and railway development.[87] All told, Lattimore weighted the journal toward his own regional specialty, and it became a "lively frequently controversial academic quarterly" under his stewardship.[88]

This interest in current affairs and policy-relevant debate also matched the ideals of Carter, who took over editorship of the publication from 1941 to 1942 and again in 1945. In between, the position was held by William Holland, a New Zealand native who worked on the institute's research and publication programs. Holland is remembered for his excellent and fair-minded editorial skills. He was a "truly devoted facilitator of free international discussion, never grinding an axe himself but getting others on all sides to sharpen their instruments."[89] At *Pacific Affairs*, this translated into coverage of a broad geographical range in line with the membership and focus of the IPR as a whole. Wartime issues included articles on the past and prospects of India, the Philippines, Indonesia, and, most relevant here, Japan. Under Holland's tenure, *Pacific Affairs* brought the ideas of respected Japan specialists to its readership, as well as criticism of developing American policy from scholars outside the United States. Regular wartime contributors on Japan included the left-wing Japan specialists Thomas Arthur Bisson and E.H. Norman. In March 1944 *Pacific Affairs* published a Bisson article on postwar Japan that was remarkably close in content to the draft policies circulating in the SWNCCFE. Bisson argued that disarmament, loss of territory gained since 1895, and possibly reparations were required to neutralize the Japanese threat. He also believed that it would be impossible to enforce harsh peace terms that the Japanese would not accept and that the country would be pacified by its stake in an international system of free trade.[90] The following issue included an international response, which agreed broadly with Bisson's view of the treatment of Japan but made the point that America's plans must be developed and carried out with the participation of its allies.[91] This emphasis on representing multiple viewpoints on a single issue was characteristic of Holland's work as editor.

Like Lattimore and Carter, Holland was primarily interested in China. In 1944 he adopted US citizenship in order to serve in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) office in Chungking. Although the IPR's leading editors were left-leaning Sinophiles, and all were later painted with the brush of communism, *Pacific Affairs* remained a respected journal throughout the wartime period, thanks to the commitment of Holland and Carter to presenting a variety of views. This

concern for neutrality was so palpable that it was constricting to other members involved in editorial work within the organization. Laurence Salisbury, who became the editor of *Far Eastern Survey* in 1944, resigned because he felt that the pressure to publish "only 'balanced' and 'non-controversial' material" restricted his decision making and "circumscribe[d] the publication of accurate, unbiased material."[92] Although the unwritten policy Salisbury complained of was in line with the long-standing editorial style of Holland and Carter, the IPR was already engulfed in accusations of communist subversion at the time of his resignation and had special reason to be careful with its reputation.

Though not an IPR title, the journal *Amerasia* was also closely linked to the organization. The publication was established after discussions at the 1936 IPR Yosemite conference and replaced editor Philip Jaffe's home-published *China Today*. The title was widely associated with the IPR for several reasons. Jaffe had become close to the leading IPR members Lattimore and Bisson during a trip to the communist stronghold in Yenan in 1937, and the journal operated out of the same building as the IPR's New York headquarters. Because *Amerasia* was a leftist publication, radical members of the IPR found it a more convivial home for their work than the more ideologically balanced IPR journals. While editor of *Pacific Affairs*, Lattimore sometimes sent submissions on to *Amerasia* for publication.[93]

Amerasia became engulfed in scandal in 1945, when a raid on its offices turned up leaked secret State Department and OSS papers. Although found guilty of illegal possession of secret documents, *Amerasia* staff members were cleared of espionage and malicious intent at the time. John Service, a China specialist in the State Department not involved in postwar planning, was found to be a primary source of the leaks. The connection ultimately cost Service his career in government. It also fueled later conspiracy theories led by Senator Joseph McCarthy about American communists and the "loss" of China. The disgraced publication continued to operate at a loss and closed its doors in 1947.[94] While the link between *Amerasia* and the IPR was damaging to the institute's reputation, the blow did not come until the end of the wartime period, at which point the impact of the IPR's formal wartime publication series had already been made.

The Inquiry

The Inquiry series was another key publication program designed to further Carter's vision of the IPR as an active, policy-relevant organization. The monograph series began shortly after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War "to inquire into the issues of durable peace in the Far East" and was expressly intended to create

"a body of carefully thought out and conveniently arranged material" on the Far East for official policy planning.[95] This new activity fit with Carter and Holland's vision of the IPR as a more politically oriented organization and justified large new grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to support its publications on the Far East.[96] Holland poured his energy into the project, working through "the whole process of conceiving and defining the subject for a book or article, finding a researcher-writer, getting him financed, editing his product and getting it into print."[97] Major works in English on Japan and American policy in the region were initiated, supported, and made available through the Inquiry. These works include famous titles such as E. H. Norman's *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (1940), Hugh Borton's *Japan since 1931* (1940), Nathaniel Peffer's *Basis for Peace in the Far East* (1942), and T. A. Bisson's *America's Far Eastern Policy* (1945).[98]

Inquiry titles were deeply influential, read by specialists and also recommended to generalists as a source for understanding the Japan question.[99] *Japan's Emergence* was the only history book published in the Inquiry series. In it, Norman argued that Japanese militarism was the result of feudal legacies that had survived the Meiji Restoration. Norman's work focused attention on the domestic economy and social structure of Japan as a cause of its aggression abroad. The dramatic disparity between peasants and commercial and landowning classes shaped Japanese foreign policy in two ways. First, rural poverty fed radicalism by fostering discontent and creating a base of idle manpower on which the military could draw. Second, Japan's masses were unable to afford the goods produced by the country's industry. With a stunted domestic market, finding outlets abroad became an impetus for foreign adventures.[100]

Norman's ideas were the basis of later plans to redistribute wealth through land reform and breaking up *zaibatsu* as a method of stabilizing postwar Japan.[101] These ideas appear to have influenced Robert Fearey's recommendations on land redistribution. Hugh Borton was so impressed with Norman's work that he took it as the starting point for his own Inquiry publication, *Japan since 1931*. This book, an expansion of Borton's PhD dissertation, provided a detailed and knowledgeable reference work on the individuals and groups shaping Japanese politics in the 1930s. Borton restated Norman's case that agricultural and land reform was needed to halt Japan's slide into radicalism.[102] He later became an integral member of the IDAFE planning group and worked on relevant recommendations that became occupation policy.

Nathaniel Peffer's *Basis for Peace in the Far East* was an accessible and popular text that was used by journalists and public speakers in media debates about postwar Japan.[103] As did Joseph Grew in his public speaking tour, Peffer argued that Japan would have to be utterly defeated in order to make genuine reform possible. The Japanese needed to learn the "lessons of war" through invasion

and the destruction of their cities. Like Borton, Peffer accepted Norman's thesis that modern Japanese authoritarianism was a leftover from the feudal era. After defeating Japan and removing the traditional elites from power, Peffer's prescription for the postwar period shared characteristics of the soft peace being developed by State Department experts. Because Peffer believed a long occupation would be impractical and an enforced peace ultimately untenable, the Japanese would instead need to be convinced to cooperate in an international order that would offer them the chance to prosper.[104] In addition, the country could be stabilized by encouraging increased social mobility and agricultural living standards.[105]

The last book to be published in the Inquiry series was written by T.A. Bisson, who was also an IPR research associate. This text drew on the previous Inquiry publications and expected that the Allies would militarily and economically reorient Japan toward peace through a lengthy military occupation. *America's Far Eastern Policy* included several points not emphasized by earlier Inquiry works. Bisson cautioned that the emperor institution and Shinto religion would both remain dangers to demilitarization if left unchecked, and he argued that the treatment of Japan should not be a unilateral American affair. Again drawing on the "feudal legacy" argument, Bisson asserted that pacifying Japan in the long term would require a breakup of the "Zaibatsu-landlord monopoly" on economic power, and redistribution of wealth.[106] During the occupation of Japan, Bisson had the opportunity to advocate his ideas as adviser to the Chief of Government Section in occupied Japan. Both *Basis for Peace in the Far East* and *America's Far Eastern Policy* were requested by the OWI in 1945 to be microfilmed for staff reference.[107] A major goal of IPR publishing activity was to provide official planners with "imaginative thinking about the broad problems of the war and post-war period," and the Inquiry series played a large part in making that possible.[108]

The broad editorial aim of the IPR, led by Carter and Holland, was to create a body of high-quality policy-relevant output with the support of the organization. Regardless of personal beliefs, the various editors working at the institute strove to ensure that IPR publications reflected a range of geographical interests and ideological viewpoints. Inquiry titles and IPR periodicals both deepened the level of knowledge on the region and broadened the range of debate by providing a platform for academics and specialists to critically engage with these issues for the first time. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, American policy in East Asia was hamstrung by lack of knowledge and nuanced understanding about a region that was culturally and geographically distant from the centers of American political power on the East Coast of the United States. The IPR was invaluable in combating that problem. Publications during the war permanently expanded the base of available information on East Asia and the Pacific available to English speakers.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong and *Foreign Affairs*

The Council on Foreign Relations also published its own prestigious journal under the editorial guidance of Hamilton Fish Armstrong.[109] *Foreign Affairs* took as its mission to "guide American public opinion" by becoming the "natural medium of the best thought" in America and Europe.[110] Armstrong, called "Ham," by friends, exercised a high degree of personal editorial control over the content of *Foreign Affairs*. A member of the journal's advisory board later explained that all the board members were aware that they were nothing more than "a group of people Ham likes to talk to." The chief function of the board, another member explained "has been to admire Ham."[111]

Armstrong, an internationalist with an interest in East Asia, attempted to use his editorial control to influence the opinion of his readership on the situation in Asia. During the war, *Foreign Affairs* provided its readers with articles on the future of Asia. Armstrong was keenly aware of the sway his journal had on informed opinion about international relations. As he explained in a letter to President Roosevelt in 1944, although the "circulation is not large (only 15,000)," it was nonetheless a leading publication because its readership included "the most influential people all over the country, as well as many key people in foreign governments."[112] Indeed, draft reports from the official SFE planning group explicitly referenced articles from *Foreign Affairs* as a source of ideas. For example, Fearey cited a *Foreign Affairs* article as the basis for his report on Japanese reparations.[113] Understanding the political value of the journal's elite readership, Armstrong attempted to use the journal to shape informed public opinion and influence the course of American policy. Under this guidance, articles in *Foreign Affairs* were selected and timed in order to "exercise the maximum effect on public issues."[114]

Even before the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, Armstrong's *Foreign Affairs* had become a forum for discussion of the Sino-Japanese War. From July 1937 until December 1941 Armstrong solicited and commissioned a number of articles on the threat of Japanese militarism and the significance of Chinese resistance.[115] He sought through the publication to ensure that its elite readership was aware of the crisis unfolding in East Asia and understood that the situation was a matter of importance to the United States.[116] After America's entry into the war, Armstrong kept the publication in line with his own views by rejecting articles that proposed a soft approach toward postwar Japan. Throughout the war, articles from Professor George Blakeslee of Clark University on the nature of the future settlement with Japan were rejected. Blakeslee was not only a leading Japan specialist and a longtime member of the *Foreign Affairs* advisory board but also a member of the CFR's Far East Study Group.

Moreover, from 1943, he was the head of the State Department's Far Eastern Area Subcommittee of the Postwar Problems Committee, which was in charge of drafting US postwar policy toward Japan. Armstrong's editorial policy kept from *Foreign Affairs* readers the work of a key figure in drafting policy and the ideas on which future American policy toward Japan would be based.

A submission by Blakeslee in July 1942 suggested that the United States ought to impose favorable economic conditions on a defeated Japan in order to ensure future peace. In response, one of Armstrong's referees noted, "Blakeslee has given more thought and study to this question that [*sic*] almost anyone else. But isn't he a bit gentle in his approach to it. Do WE want to start worrying about Japanese prosperity? Wouldn't that give her the 'chance to do it again?'" The review concluded that although the reader did not have answers to the questions that Blakeslee's submission raised, he was "fearful of gentle people dealing with lions!"[117] Armstrong echoed this criticism in his rejection of Blakeslee's article. He suggested that Blakeslee rethink his argument and pointed out that highlighting the economic causes of Japanese militarism could be misunderstood as blaming the United States for the present war.[118] Blakeslee, however, did not change his thesis, and as a result his work was excluded from *Foreign Affairs*. By contrast, a number of articles supporting "tough" treatment of postwar Japan were printed in the journal. An article published on the subject in 1942 is typical. Its author, S. R. Chow, argued that it was "erroneous and dangerous" to believe that "a policy of moderation and generosity would help to pacify the Japanese and reconcile them with their former enemies."[119] Through Armstrong's editorial guidance, the informed and influential readership of *Foreign Affairs* was regularly presented with this perspective during the war.

Armstrong's interventions were not limited to restricting policy ideas. Personal issues also affected publication decisions. In the 1930s, a close friendship between Walter Lippmann and Hamilton Fish Armstrong had brought together one of the leading public thinkers on international affairs and the editor of the leading elite journal on the subject. "Ham" and Walter were close friends, as were their wives, and the couples often met socially. Lippmann contributed articles to *Foreign Affairs*, which gave him a venue for thoughtful medium-length articles presented for a worldly audience. This was a useful addition to his popular short opinion pieces, which had to be produced often and to tight deadlines, and his longer book projects, which, because of the time they took to write and publish, were not a good vehicle for responding to current events. The relationship, however, was suddenly cut off when Armstrong discovered Lippmann had been carrying on an affair with his wife. The scandal resulted in divorce for both the Armstrongs and the Lippmanns and the marriage of Walter Lippmann to Armstrong's former wife. The two men, well-known figures in a small set of elite New

York internationalists, never spoke again.[120] Mimicking the Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae*, Armstrong never again allowed Walter Lippmann's name to appear in the journal's pages during his long tenure as editor.[121] As a result of this personal conflict, one of the most well-known public intellectuals of the time was entirely omitted from *Foreign Affairs*.

Described by colleagues as a man "as temperamental as he is able,"[122] Armstrong effectively sidelined dissenting voices and used *Foreign Affairs* to provide the informed public with accounts of the problems and possibilities of Asia as he saw them. Armstrong's views in favor of a harsh peace for Japan were in line with those of China sympathizers close to FDR, such as Lauchlin Currie and Owen Lattimore. Had Roosevelt lived to preside over the occupation of Japan, these views might have been reflected in official policy. Because it was not clear that the group Blakeslee headed would ultimately be responsible for policy, Armstrong misjudged his importance and, rather than using his position to sway him, merely excluded the former professor from the pages of *Foreign Affairs*. Despite this missed chance, *Foreign Affairs* influenced informed thinking and indirectly affected postwar planning by providing a readership of officials and experts with a particular view of postwar Japan.

Publishers and editors had a great deal of influence over what books, articles, and opinion pieces were selected. Because research support, salaries, and reputations were based on the decisions of publishers, these individuals had influence over what authors chose to write and control of what was made available to readers. During World War II, Luce, Holland, Carter, and Armstrong all used this powerful position to support publications that reflected their personal beliefs and interests. These decisions had a significant impact on the way in which Japan was portrayed in key popular and specialist publications. The publications of Time Inc. overstated the stability and viability of Chiang's regime in China and actively projected a future in which the United States, aided by a strong and America-friendly China, would lead the Pacific and the world into a missionary-flavored American century. IPR editors used their control of scholarly book series and journals to release a broad base of well-researched political and policy-relevant academic knowledge on an under-researched region. Armstrong used the pages of *Foreign Affairs* to advocate his image of a harsh peace for Japan and excluded the voices of important figures like Blakeslee and Lippmann for his own personal and professional reasons. Of course, this did not stop authors from continuing their work elsewhere. Blakeslee remained central to official planning, and his exclusion from *Foreign Affairs* merely meant that the publication's readers were not introduced to the ideas developing in the State Department. Though their opinions were not necessarily decisive, these men did wield unusual force in guiding the debate on the Japan question.

Personal Connections and Reputations

The influence of some media men went beyond circulated opinion pieces, collaboration on publications, or publisher control over released material. In *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs*, Robert Schulzinger argued that the beliefs of elites outside the government often reflected official policy because bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen, and academics came from the same sorts of elite social circles.[123] Thus, shared ideas were the result of the similarities across types of elites. But in the case of leading media figures, the connection was deeper than Schulzinger suggested. These people were part of the same social circles, with human relationships built on informal social connections. Through these personal networks, media elites joined the policymaking process as active elements in the evolution of ideas out of which formal policy grew and was accepted. Ideas were discussed and defended, and assumptions and visions were shared in unrecorded, informal environments. These individuals were already part of official and unofficial planning groups and were invited to share ideas and join associations, committees, and government departments, further enmeshing them in the process.

Soft connections knitted a few important media figures into influential circles. Although many interactions were not directly policy-relevant, they established friendships that allowed for the sharing of ideas between men who were well educated, informed, and deeply interested in world affairs. For example, their shared passion for the Chinese cause generated correspondence between Henry Luce and Cordell Hull through the United China Relief organization.[124] Walter Lippmann, charming and worldly, was a part of the social networks of New York and Washington. The Lippmanns' wartime social calendar included meals with the Dean Achesons, the Henry Stimsons, and Admiral Alan Kirk.[125] In 1939 the Lippmanns rented the house of the future OSS director and Roosevelt confidant William Donovan.[126] These social interactions formed bonds of amity, trust, and mutual respect, which are the bedrock of collaboration. Gift giving too was a source of warmth in relationships. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, having received from Luce a box of cigars, included in his thank-you note an invitation to meet at Luce's convenience.[127] Birthday, Christmas, and get-well cards were sent and saved; they reinforced the human bonds between policymakers.

Regular correspondence also made for easy sharing of information between journalists and officials. Throughout the war, powerful figures such as Forrestal and Stimson wrote to Lippmann to set up lunches and meetings and discuss the ideas presented in his columns.[128] In May 1944 Walter Lippmann telephoned Joseph Grew to tell him about a conversation with the Soviet diplomat Vladimir Sergeyvich Pravdin. The two discussed Russian interests in the Pacific.

Russia, Lippmann told Grew, had renewed territorial ambitions in Port Arthur, a warm-water port in the Far East that had been a source of imperial rivalry since the nineteenth century. The Soviets were also concerned about how their cooperation with the Chinese communists in fighting the Japanese would be perceived in Washington and Chungking. Grew had this information typed into a memorandum, which he then passed to the secretary of state.[129] Later that year, Lippmann visited Henry Stimson after returning from a trip to France. He took the opportunity to express his views on the planned occupation of Germany, arguing that the country would remain a threat even under occupation and suggesting that it be permanently divided.[130] Information and ideas moved between formal and informal channels at such meetings.

Opinion leaders developed reputations as active members of policy circles and as a result were invited to join planning groups and committees. In 1943 Lippmann was asked to become a member of the American Council of the IPR.[131] Luce, who was already an IPR member and served on its board of trustees, received invitations to participate in discussion luncheons for postwar plans developed by John Foster Dulles and the Federal Council of Churches and to join a series of closed-door meetings on China sponsored by the CFR.[132] This tendency to include opinion leaders in new projects also gave media men a voice in official planning. Shortly before the United States went to war, Bill Donovan began preparing for his new position as coordinator of defense information, a position that would later become head of the Office of Strategic Services. To begin this new project, Donovan wanted a group of eight or nine well-informed individuals to meet informally and create a set of future scenarios for his staff to use as the basis of their first reports. Archibald MacLeish, working for Donovan, wrote to Luce that since he was "the world's greatest" editor, "we have to have you as one of the group."[133] Henry Luce joined what they called the "glass ball shooting committee," which met at Donovan's home to set the agenda for OSS research. The connection with MacLeish continued to bring Luce into informal government advising. In 1943, MacLeish, then assistant director of the OWI, wrote to Luce again, asking for opinions and comments on a draft background sheet on China because of his authority on the subject.[134]

A man with clear views on America's place in the world, Henry Luce sometimes attempted to use his connections to influence policy directly. In 1943 he tried to drum up popular and elite support for his cause during Madame Chiang's visit to the United States. Luce's publications covered her tour, and he hosted a "marvelous affair" in her honor, a reception and dinner attended by his elite associates.[135] Luce's actions and the solicitation of his views by officials reveal both his desire to be an actor in policymaking and the extent of his political influence.

Personal connections and reputations in the field of international affairs also led to offers of jobs in government planning positions. At a time when East Asia experts were lacking in government, authors and editors were invited to take up official posts on the basis of their publications and recommendations. It was in this manner that Owen Lattimore, then editor of *Pacific Affairs* at the IPR and vocal China advocate in CFR study groups, was appointed by Roosevelt to serve as adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. Roosevelt did not know Lattimore, who was recommended as a leading sinologist because of his activities at the IPR and CFR. Meanwhile, Hamilton Fish Armstrong preemptively turned down an advisory position in the State Department.[136] Well-known men from popular media were chosen to take up leading positions at the OWI. Walter Lippmann, who enjoyed both public regard and personal associations with men in the highest level of government, was asked to become undersecretary of state in 1945, a position he politely refused.[137]

As the media analyst Jonathan Alter argues, "Logic can convince but only emotion can motivate."[138] Popular sympathy with China and visceral hatred of the Japanese were driving forces of public morale in the Pacific theater. What provided the driving force for America's emotional response to Japan as an enemy nation during World War II? Lacking first-person experience of Asia or Asians to give context to news reports, how did citizens understand "the nature of the enemy" or know "why we fight"? Popular media and entertainment created lasting images and broad pictures of Japan, China, and the people who lived in these countries. These impressions were particularly powerful for ordinary Americans because most lacked a nuanced understanding to critically examine the tropes presented to them as they opened the newspaper or visited a movie house. The resulting impressions on the public mind in turn informed public response to American action and perception of the limits of the transformation possible in postwar Japan.

Rosy coverage helped create unrealistic expectations for a postwar China that would be a close ally and the dominant power in Asia. As with Roosevelt's conception of the region, this important assumption made it possible to sideline Japan as a major power. Because of disillusionment with both the KMT government and the prospects for China as a whole that later took hold of public opinion, this assumption became much less important after 1943. Before and during the war, popular media reinforced anti-Asian racial stereotypes and the dehumanization of the Japanese, stirring wartime race hate. However, print media also made the work done by the opinion leaders and other groups involved in wartime planning available to the public. Newspapers published analysis on postwar Japan from books, conference summaries, and speeches. These short distillations of

careful and nuanced approaches to complex issues ensured that ordinary Americans were not strangers to the broad outlines of Japan policy. The lines of future policy were uncertain within and outside government, particularly during the Roosevelt administration. During the war, however, the news media provided a crucial service in exposing the reading public to ideas that would prepare them for what was to come.

Opinion leaders—editors, journalists, and expert contributors—comprised a clear group of actors interested in Japan's future and active in shaping policy. Distinct from wider public opinion and media, though tied to publications, the people examined in this chapter reveal an internationalist in-group involved in planning. Opinion leaders both shaped and reflected the ideas of planners because of their shared personal backgrounds and social interaction, control over available material, correspondence, and collaboration. Luce and Lippmann were both elite East Coast internationalists who called for expanding American influence and protecting American interests abroad. These two were particularly influential because of their large readerships and deep interlinkage with officials, but they were also part of a more diverse group including Pearl S. Buck, Owen Lattimore, Anne O'Hare McCormick, and many others.

The divide between officials and outside elites during the war was porous. Through personal connections and established reputations, journalists, authors, and editors shared ideas and knowledge, engaged in formal and informal planning, tried to influence policy based on personal beliefs, and were invited to join the government themselves. Individuals and ideas moved in both directions. Just as it is difficult to chart the spread of ideas, it is difficult to distinguish between shaping and being shaped in such a two-way flow of information. The patterns of interaction examined here expanded what might be called the policymaking community to include area specialists, opinion columnists, editors, and publishers.

This group had an impact on America's Far East policy in the long term. The crisis of war provided a powerful catalyst for developing the infant field of Asian studies in the English-speaking world. The flood of publications created by opinion leaders as a result of the processes examined here provided a place for academics and researchers to provide careful and considered input to policymaking. It also created a body of useful information available to policymakers during the war and after. This knowledge base allowed occupation-era policymakers to make informed decisions and adapt policy in response to unforeseen changes on the ground. The groundwork of research created by opinion leaders during the war thus both shaped initial plans and helped smooth the transition from policy planning to the difficult task of implementation. Popular opinion and opinion leaders also had an impact on the final group examined here, Congress.

5

SUCKER NATION AND SANTA CLAUS

Concerns of Congress

As with the advisers, bureaucrats, and politicians considered earlier, congressmen saw the present and future in terms of the recent past. The First World War and the imperfect, unstable peace that followed made a profound impact on policymakers, who had experienced the period as adolescents or young men. The past held different lessons for the legislative branch, however. The groups considered thus far can all be labeled internationalist, advocating a more active role for the United States in the world and East Asia. For them, what had followed the Great War was a missed chance for American leadership in a new international system marked by cooperation through the League of Nations. Later world problems, internationalists contended, resulted from the failure of the United States to join and fully support this international organization as a path to secure peace. Such a failure could not be allowed to happen again.[1]

Opinion within Congress was neither so unified nor broadly internationalist, especially before 1941. Among those concerned with foreign relations, some representatives doubted that Wilsonian idealism could overcome power politics and entrenched European rivalries. They argued that America had been dragged into fighting the last war in Europe against its interests and had accordingly learned a very different lesson of neutrality and noninvolvement. The connection between Congress and postwar planning during World War II was deeply tied to the body's rejection of Wilson's peace and its dramatic refusal to join the League of Nations.[2] Without the support of Congress, which approved budgets and treaties, any postwar plans would have to be abandoned.

Before an act of war made disengagement from Asia impossible, congressional leaders debated responses to Japanese expansion, support for China, and America's role in East Asia. Their views are seen in legislative hearings on Asians, both Japanese and Chinese, resident in America, and in speeches made by key congressmen. Politicians began public education and outreach campaigns in order to rally popular support for, or against, increased American commitments abroad. Support for an active foreign policy was a necessary precondition for the type of peace being planned in the State Department's IDAFE group and the postwar world envisioned by President Roosevelt.

The wartime congressional experience reflected an important shift in American foreign policy. During the Second World War, support for deep American engagement with the world, once confined to a narrow circle of internationalist elites, replaced isolationism as the dominant paradigm in American political discourse. In early 1941 the majority of the American public and a number of influential congressmen had been committed isolationists. The attack on Pearl Harbor and America's abrupt entrance into the war unified opinion behind the war effort, but the question of America's role in the postwar world remained unresolved. The long debates and introduction of bills on postwar foreign policy in Congress during the summer and fall of 1943 revealed a sea change toward congressional support for an active postwar foreign policy and extensive commitments around the world. This change in Congress reflected the shift in American opinion as the isolationists and noninterventionists lost the national debate on the country's future. By the presidential campaign of 1944, traditional isolationism had been abandoned by both major political parties in favor of cooperation and an active foreign policy around the world. In 1945 the occupation of the defeated Axis powers and broad security commitments in Europe and East Asia were a given. However, former isolationists challenged the slow pace of demobilization and the burdensome cost of reconstruction and reorientation for defeated Germany and Japan.

Congress and Public Opinion

Congressional leaders as a group share similar traits with those considered in previous chapters. They were based in Washington, and some were involved in the social and professional circles that linked bureaucrats, academics, businessmen, and advisers in think tank and government wartime planning clusters. However, there are factors that make this group different from those seen so far. Congressmen hailed from and maintained strong links to geographic areas across the United States and came from a wider range of backgrounds.[3] In contrast to bureaucratic planners, these men were largely generalists without any specialized

knowledge of or interest in Asia. Like the president but unlike bureaucrats and policy experts, however deep their interest in foreign policy might be, the primary concerns of congressional representatives were domestic issues affecting their constituents. In order to keep their jobs, these politicians needed to keep a close eye on public sentiment and election cycles. The positions taken by congressional leaders needed to harmonize with the interests and ideas of the citizens for whom they spoke. Congressional leaders are therefore the most heterogeneous group in this book, in terms of composition and ideology. They are also the most reflective of dynamic popular opinion.

Congressional action was one of the few routes through which public opinion might enter the postwar planning process. The bureaucrats, advisers, and unofficial experts who drafted what became postwar policy were unelected and unaccountable to the public. President Roosevelt was a skilled politician and sensitive to public opinion as it registered in surveys and opinion pieces. However, even during the 1940 and 1944 election campaigns he was insulated by his immense popularity and the perceived need for continuity during wartime. Congressmen, by contrast, were often in a more precarious position with their constituents and were therefore careful to be seen by voters as acting in their interests. Appealing to congressmen was one of the few avenues for public involvement in wartime planning for the country's future foreign policy.

Foreign Policy before Pearl Harbor

In the late 1930s American foreign policy debates centered on the proper response to aggression and conflict in Asia and Europe. Should the United States intervene in these crises or should it avoid involvement? If the former, what kind of intervention would be best? Two opposing schools of thought, isolationism and interventionism, defined the political debate on this subject. Each had implications for America's role in the world generally, as well as the country's Asia policy. Isolationism was the dominant paradigm in American foreign policy in the 1930s. A broadly used term, isolationism can be defined as support for American unilateralism, unfettered by political or military alliances with the European powers and participation in foreign wars.[4] Isolationism was a powerful strain in American public opinion and one that became a source of congressional opposition to the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. Before Pearl Harbor, American isolationists were deeply influenced by what they considered to be the lessons of the Great War. Large sections of American society had the sense that their country had been drawn into a European conflict in 1917 against its interests and at great cost.

As a movement against American involvement in the European conflict, isolationism was a rallying point for a broad political coalition. The largest and most influential constituency was the America First Committee. Significant interaction between America First and isolationist politicians brought the organization into the "great debate" on Capitol Hill and the conflict between the administration and Congress on foreign policy.[5] America First members included traditional isolationists, noninterventionists, religious and left-leaning pacifists, and Anglophobes, as well as racists, ultranationalists, and fascists.[6] The heterodox membership of this organization bent on keeping the United States out of a European war is a testament to the broad public desire to avoid war in Europe and the rapid growth of a national popular movement. By December 1941 membership had swelled to eight hundred thousand with 450 chapters and subchapters across the country.[7] These numbers did more than evidence a popular movement. Congressmen could point to America First as a demonstration of widespread support for their challenge to Roosevelt's policy, strengthening their hand in the battle to reshape America's policy orientation.

Isolationists were not the only critics in Congress of Roosevelt's ambivalent prewar foreign policy. Internationalism was supported by well-connected elites in business, media, academia, and government. Before Pearl Harbor, internationalists and interventionists called for active military support of Britain and China and advocated American leadership on the global stage. These men were motivated by an interest in expanding American trade and investment, believed that the military defeat of a major ally like Great Britain would threaten national security, and often shared a missionary zeal for the spread of "Americanism" abroad. Internationalists in Congress and the media were deeply influenced by the thinking of Henry Luce in his article "The American Century." Specifically referencing this thesis, Representative Martin J. Kennedy submitted a proposal to the House of Representatives calling for the creation of the Committee to Preserve and Propagate Democracy to "assist" democracy abroad.[8] The resolution would extend "the friendly neighbor policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . to the entire world" because global leadership would benefit America and create material progress everywhere.[9] The breathtaking scope of this mission is in keeping with the exuberant internationalism seen in other planning groups considered in this study. It was, however, the ideological antithesis of isolationism.

Despite the divide, isolationists and internationalists were not necessarily at odds on policy toward Asia. Isolationism was largely focused on Europe, concerned that the United States might be drawn into European wars as the "sucker" of the British and the financial industry.[10] The 1930s, remembered as the heyday of isolationism in America, was also a decade of deep involvement in Latin America and Asia.[11] Isolationist convictions did not lead to a public outcry against deeper

American involvement in East Asia. Indeed, after 1937, there was significant popular approval for sending aid to China and checking an expansionist Japan. However, isolationists were often outspoken critics of American foreign policy and set a high bar to justify intervention abroad. Possible American responses to the Sino-Japanese War were evaluated not by ideological opposition to intervention but in terms of American interests and the potential cost of involvement.

Some isolationists took the position that the United States did not have interests worth fighting for in East Asia. A 1940 opinion piece in the isolationist *Saturday Evening Post* pointed out that the bulk of American trade in Asia was with Japan and asked why the country ought to weaken itself in the Atlantic by moving naval forces in support of a "scarcely recognizable" democracy in China. Because American interests in Asia were limited, events there were "quite literally none of our business."[12] This sentiment was combined with Anglophobia in a later piece, which demanded that the Roosevelt administration "persuade the public and Congress that it is protecting American and not British imperial interests in the Far East, and that American interests there are worth risking war with Japan."[13] Senator Burton Wheeler agreed, stating publicly that "the only excuse we would have for war with Japan is for the purpose of protecting the British Empire."[14] The New York Chapter of America First echoed this position, writing, "The Administration has taken it upon itself to demand actions from Japan that in no way concern the national interests of the United States. None of our territorial possessions are in any way involved." Under such circumstances, Americans ought not "send their sons to the battlefield of China . . . to tell the people of Asia how to manage the affairs of Asia."[15] Other isolationists, such as the longtime congressman and frequent America First speaker Hamilton Fish, pointed out the hypocrisy of American criticism of Japan's Asia policy given America's adherence to the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America.[16] From this perspective, what little benefit involvement might bring would be outweighed by the cost of intervention.

On the other hand, many Americans believed that neutrality and noninvolvement were not possible in the East Asian context or that the cost of intervention would be very low. By not taking sides in the Sino-Japanese War, the United States was in effect supporting Japan, which was more able than China to purchase American war materials. As explained in a broadcast debate on American policy, "We have been helping Japan. We have been selling Japan everything under the sun she needs to fight China."[17] This was largely in line with public sentiment, which was sympathetic toward China and underestimated the possibility of Japan's actually going to war against the United States. Both popular media and official writing during the period revealed a pervasive orientalist bias in American opinion that "a firm hand was the only thing Asians understand."[18] The idea

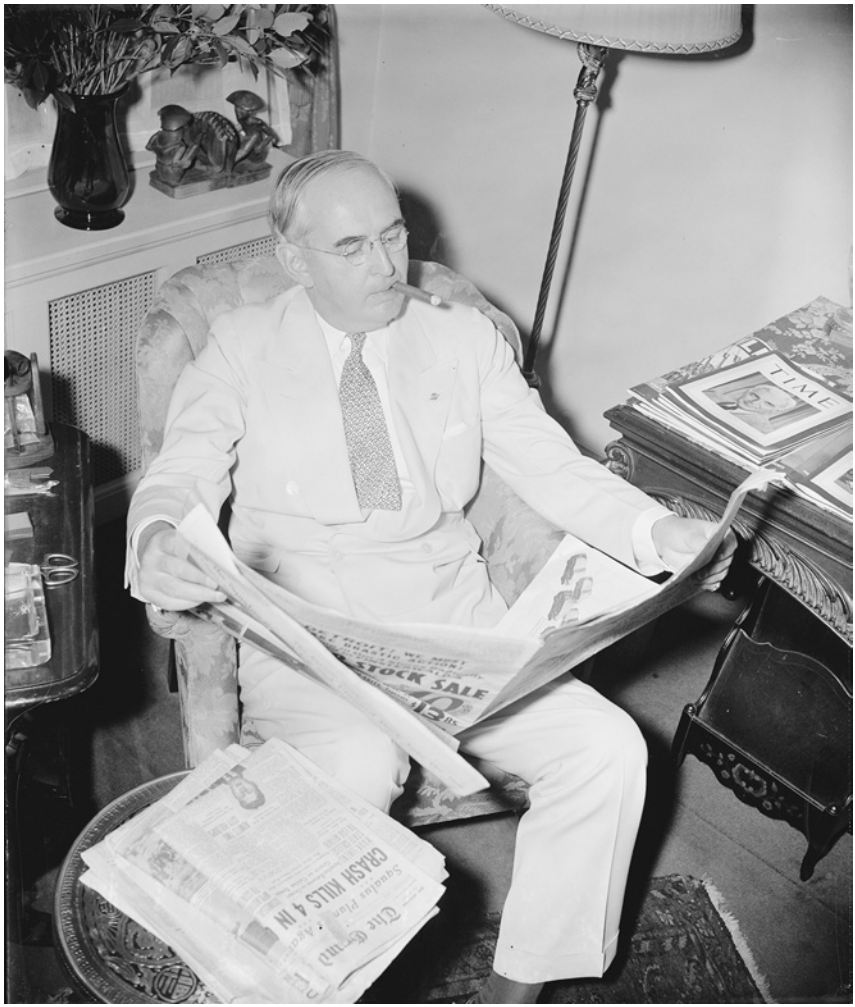

FIGURE 5.1. Republican senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, keeps his hand on the pulse of the nation through the newspapers. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, item hec2009013696.

that Japan could be easily checked became the basis of calls from the media and Congress for stern diplomatic rhetoric and an embargo on oil and scrap metal exports to Japan.[19] The country could take a tough line in Asia without being drawn into conflict or affecting the situation in Europe.

This assumption was undermined when Japan joined the Axis in September 1940, connecting the European and Asian conflicts. The day after Pearl Harbor,

the well-known isolationist Republican senator Arthur Vandenberg reflected that it would have been a relatively simple matter to appease Japan.

Recognizing the status quo of Japanese domination in Manchuria might have been sufficient. This, Vandenberg thought, would have been painless for the United States, prevented involvement in war in the Pacific, and dealt Hitler a blow in Europe by denying him a key ally. Vandenberg's European focus played an important role in this thinking. He displayed an easy willingness to acknowledge the loss of Manchuria, declaring, "May I frankly add that I think China is big enough" to stand losing territory.[20] This stood in sharp contrast with the belief of China sympathizers like Cordell Hull and Henry Stimson that such a compromise would be a "betrayal" of China. Vandenberg's ideas went further than justifying the appeasement of Japan in order to maintain peace in the region. Again on December 8, a day if any when emotion might cloud calm judgment in favor of vengeance, the senator wrote to himself, "Without condoning for an instant the *way* in which Japan precipitated hostilities, I still think we may have *driven* her *needlessly* into hostilities through our dogmatic diplomatic attitudes."[21] Vandenberg was not alone in his assessment. His point that the price of peace in East Asia would be to acknowledge Japan "North of the Great Wall" was shared by the Council on Foreign Relations Far East Study Group. Such thinking united Vandenberg and other isolationists with anti-interventionists and anti-imperialists, but also with pro-British Americans who did not want the conflict with Japan to distract from the situation in Europe, in support for appeasement of Japan.

Before America's entrance into World War II, isolationists put pressure on Washington's Japan policy from multiple directions. Those who shared popular sympathy with China as an underdog against an aggressive neighbor or who believed America could decisively shape policy there without recourse to arms pushed, along with the internationalists, for a tough Japan policy. Isolationists who believed that wider conflict was a possibility in the Far East and who were concerned about strengthening Germany's position by further isolating Japan and reinforcing its commitment to the Axis argued for engagement and, if necessary, concessions, as a price for stability in the Far East. The label "isolationist" describes an active group that challenged plans for foreign policy held by private internationalists, bureaucrats, and the executive. However, isolationists did not have a common position on Japan before December 1941.

Isolationists and the Roosevelt Administration

The Roosevelt administration regarded the isolationist movement as a challenge to its freedom in policymaking and responded to it as such. The administration

pursued three tactics to limit the influence of this movement. First, Roosevelt avoided consultation and information sharing with Congress on matters of foreign policy. Second, the administration launched an oratorical campaign to sway American voters toward interventionism. Finally, personal attacks and investigations were carried out against leading members of the isolationist movement in America First and Congress. Using these three techniques, the administration successfully contained the isolationist challenge as public opinion changed with events on the ground.

The administration's first line of defense was simply to monopolize the reins of foreign policy by restricting information and consultation. Isolationist legislators bristled at being kept in the dark as the administration appeared to be moving away from the president's famous election-time promise not to "send your boys into foreign wars" and entangle the country more deeply with the conflict in Europe.[22] The administration's decision in 1940 to sell naval equipment without consulting the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, for example, sent the chairman, David Walsh, into a "towering rage" and put the "whole committee in a lather."[23] Consultation on the issue of naval sales was more than a matter of courtesy toward elected officials. Although public opinion was sympathetic to Britain and France, material support for these countries endangered the United States, and popular sentiment was still opposed to joining the war.[24] As Vandenberg explained, America could not be "an arsenal for one belligerent without becoming a target for another."[25] This statement and the wider sentiment it captured, it must be noted, related only to the European situation, although the public remained skittish about similar involvement in the Asian theater.

President Roosevelt showed little sympathy for either the rights of the legislature to information or to the real danger posed by the sale of military equipment. In response to a letter from a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs insisting that the group was entitled to an honest statement about naval support, Roosevelt blithely replied that, although he had no intention of increasing supplies at present, "actually I am not a crystal gazer and naturally I decline to say what I would do under new circumstances in the future."[26] Of course, this strategy was by no means limited to the administration's interactions with Congress. The dismissive tone of this reply echoes a letter written by Roosevelt in the same year to his ambassador to Japan in reply to a query about America's East Asia policy.[27] Roosevelt's signing of the Atlantic Charter in mid-August 1941 was another example. Details about this important agreement, which laid out the basis of American foreign policy aims, were communicated to Congress only in a presidential message a week later.[28] This failure to consult or even inform seriously undermined the importance of Congress in the conduct of foreign affairs, leaving the body with little recourse but to approve faits accomplis.

Oratorical Campaigns

The president and his administration used oratory to garner public support for increasing American involvement in the war in Europe and Asia. Two of FDR's best-remembered speeches, on the lend-lease program and the four freedoms, were delivered during the period of the great debate with the intention of swaying the public and Congress toward greater interventionism. At a press conference on lend-lease, a system to support the war efforts of Britain and China through the "loan" of war materials, Roosevelt demonstrated his skills as a master politician. In the speech, he famously likened the program to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. Such simple, relatable analogies clearly demonstrated to ordinary Americans the country's interest in aiding Britain. The speech, coupled with the dramatic German victories of 1940, was effective in reshaping public opinion on the issue.[29] The fall of France in June, followed by the start of the Battle of Britain in the autumn, made it clear that America's moral allies would not be able to handle the German problem alone.[30]

In his "four freedoms" speech in January 1941, Roosevelt went further and issued a direct challenge to isolationism. He made the case for internationalism, stating that "the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders." What followed in the address to Congress was a specific attack on both the pacifist and noninterventionist planks of the isolationist movements. In reference to pacifists, the president warned that, while "softhearted[ness]" was a laudable quality, the country could not "afford to be soft-headed." Roosevelt took particular aim at noninterventionists, warning Congress and the American people to "always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the 'ism' of appeasement."[31] The direct attacks on these popular ideologies clearly separated Franklin Roosevelt from his opposition, and his appeal to idealism and "American values" as a popular and respected political figure was a challenge to his critics.

Isolationist members of Congress tried to increase their influence and bolster popular support for isolationism using the America First Committee. In 1940 members of Congress, including leading isolationist senator Burton K. Wheeler, participated in an America First-funded plan to tour the nation and rally support for the cause. Representatives worked with America First on such campaigns in order to oppose "any plans that the President might have in bringing the country to war."[32] They became linked to the committee by the membership of spouses and friends.[33] Isolationist congressmen brought the ideas of the committee into the official debate through speaking invitations and by reading America First material into the *Congressional Record*. America First speaker and aviation hero Charles Lindbergh was invited to speak before the Senate Committee on Foreign

Relations in January 1941 and had an article introduced into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Gerald P. Nye.[34]

The administration reacted to the successes of the America First Committee's speaking campaign and continued public support for isolationism by attempting a countercampaign. Officials were concerned that America First was good at targeting messages using popular speakers and effective rallies, and as a result Roosevelt's more interventionist message was not being sufficiently represented in the press. To remedy this, Roosevelt's liberal vice president, Henry Wallace, was scheduled to give monthly speeches and to enlist popular senators as speakers in order to "meet the isolationist challenge."[35] Wallace himself urged stronger action. He assured the administration that the American Middle West, the demographic stronghold for isolationism, was prepared to shift. Midwestern farmers, Wallace wrote Roosevelt, "are ready for more forceful and definite leadership than we have given so far."[36] In the months before Pearl Harbor, administration officials planned public speeches and cooperation with internationalist congressmen to win the national great debate and counter the work of isolationists and America First.

Smear Campaigns

A third effective method of handling isolationists, in both Congress and the America First Committee, was to challenge the patriotism of the movement's key figures. The administration displayed a ferocious animosity toward isolationists. Conservative members of the president's own party were not excluded from this wrath. Branded "The Haters' Club" by Roosevelt, Democratic isolationists and noninterventionists were accused of courting "strange bed-fellows" within the Republican Party to force the president to drop more liberal elements from his administration.[37] Worse epithets were applied to staunch Republican isolationists. A report in the president's files on Representative Hamilton Fish accused him of being "in very close touch with fascist influences here and abroad" and cited Fish's participation in a German Day parade to imply he was a Nazi sympathizer and anti-Semite.[38]

The accusation that isolationists were somehow unpatriotic, sympathetic to foreign fascist governments, or anti-Semitic was not limited to the White House. It was a common charge in internationalist popular media. The sentiment was clearly expressed in a description of the isolationist speeches of Lindbergh for America First: "the voice is the voice of Lindbergh, but the words are the words of Hitler."[39] Of course, the task of tarring isolationists was made easier by the very real presence of racists, extremists, and pro-German elements in the movement, a result of the "big-tent" nature of isolationism before Pearl Harbor.

Attacks on character or patriotism were not the most serious efforts taken by the administration against leading isolationists. Recent research has found substantial evidence of politically motivated investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the period between January 1940 and December 1941, the FBI conducted searches for damaging personal information on Lindbergh and other leading isolationists associated with America First Committee. Roosevelt himself did not request political surveillance against his opposition. Rather—as when King Henry II lamented about Thomas Becket, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?"—Roosevelt loyalists acted on their own initiative to curry favor. Responding to an America First pamphlet criticizing his four freedoms speech, the president asked his press secretary if it was possible to "find out from someone—perhaps the F.B.I.—who is paying for this?" The request was duly forwarded to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and within weeks a report on America First was delivered to the White House. Especially for leading members of the movement outside Congress, suspicions of such investigations had a chilling effect on campaign efforts.[40]

The administration's activities successfully limited the influence of a popular movement on policy until the events of December 1941 drew the country into war. This in turn had an impact on wartime planning for Japan because it stunted public debate on America's role in the world, a crucial starting place of American involvement in East Asia. As discussed below, the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States' entrance into World War II dealt a death blow to the America First Committee, as priority changed to supporting the war effort. And yet, December 1941 did not mark the end of isolationism. The ideas and support for these ideas continued and evolved, throughout the war period, with implications for planning the postwar treatment of Japan.

The Fallout from Pearl Harbor

Before December 1941, Congress attempted to reassert its influence in directing America's foreign affairs with limited success. Internationalists pushed for active military support to Great Britain and China or American leadership and intervention across the globe. Meanwhile the isolationist movement was divided in its approach to Japan but presented a strong challenge to increased American involvement in Europe and was treated as a serious threat by Roosevelt. However, even before Pearl Harbor, support for isolationism was weakening as events in Europe made it clear that America's allies faced a real threat of defeat without its support.[41] The Japanese attack and declaration of war shocked the nation and permanently undermined the argument that geography could insulate America from foreign threats. As leading isolationists like Vandenberg and Senator

Robert Taft later recalled, "Convictions regarding international cooperation and collective security for peace took firm form on the afternoon of the Pearl Harbor attack. That day ended isolationism for any realist."[42] It suddenly became clear that America could not guarantee its security merely by standing alone. The America First Committee was dissolved shortly thereafter. In the wake of the attack, American citizens—politicians and dissenters included—adopted a stance of support for their country at war.

Perceiving Asians

Wartime perceptions of Asia shaped ideas about what could be done to neutralize a defeated Japan, whether military leadership or the Japanese people as a whole were accountable for the conflict, and whether China as an American ally might take over Japan's role as the dominant regional power. Congressional thinking on Asia is apparent from the hearings and debates on Asians in America, in particular the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans and the future of the legal restrictions on Chinese immigration. The West Coast of the United States, geographically nearest to East Asia and home to the vast majority of Asian immigrants, was more focused on these issues than was the rest of the country. Hearings on internment were held along the Pacific coast, and politicians from the region were naturally the most interested in internment and immigration, which disproportionately affected their constituents.

The question of internment touches on two key issues related to postwar planning: racism and the relation between the people and the governments of enemy states. The decision to distinguish between ordinary people and leadership has important implications for the postwar treatment of civilian populations. It is a decisive factor between the alternatives of regime change and collective punishment. In March 1942 the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration held hearings in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles in order to determine the treatment of ethnic Japanese populations in the United States. The Tolan Committee, named after its chairman, Representative John Tolan of California, received letters and heard testimony from governors, attorneys general, and city mayors across the Pacific coast. The issue at hand was whether all persons of Japanese ancestry ought to be interned or if a more targeted practice of identifying and detaining only suspicious individuals was possible. As one representative summarized, "Practically the entire delegation from California and from the West Coast has on the floor of Congress declared that an evacuation should be had and that it should be all-inclusive."[43] Reflecting wartime hysteria and popular anti-Japanese sentiment, the idea of universal

internment was supported by politicians from the region. During the war, Japanese citizens and Americans of Japanese descent were relocated to concentration camps because of the supposed security threat from disloyal populations.

Of course, persons of Japanese descent were not the only immigrant population with a potential link to enemy states. The United States was home to far larger numbers of Germans, Italians, and the descendants of immigrants from those places. Yet Japanese were singled out because of prejudice against Asian immigrants in the United States and were viewed with significantly more suspicion than their European counterparts. Popular support for anti-Asian immigration restrictions and segregation had a long history on the West Coast in particular. In 1906, for example, the San Francisco-based Japanese and Korean Exclusion League had lobbied Washington for strict race-based immigration restrictions and supported the segregation of Asian American public school children.[44]

At a Senate hearing on internment, officials argued that although Japanese Americans born in the United States were American citizens, they could be legitimately grouped with resident aliens. Because the Japanese government counted all persons of Japanese ancestry as Japanese citizens, the loyalty of all Japanese Americans was necessarily suspect. The Senate Committee concluded, "There is no such thing as a Japanese not being a subject of the Emperor of Japan."[45] All persons of Japanese descent, whether US citizens or not, were therefore tied through the emperor to the policies of the government of Japan. Japanese nationals were uniquely subject to their government and therefore could not be separated from the actions of that government. This double standard was particularly clear given the circulation in the United States of Nazi propaganda pamphlets encouraging German Americans "to think of themselves always as Germans and owing . . . allegiance to the fatherland."[46] Japanese Americans were less "American" than German and Italian Americans and were to be treated accordingly.

Familiar racial prejudices were used by West Coast politicians to advocate the universal internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans. First, as had Roosevelt, senior figures argued that the Japanese were "not of an assimilable race" and therefore could not become fully American or contribute to American communities. The attorney general of Washington State wrote in support of internment, noting the "undesirable presence of Japanese in the United States" had already "harmed" the Pacific coast to an extent that Americans in other regions could not understand.[47] Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, the city with the largest ethnic Japanese population in America, wrote a letter to the Senate and testified before the Tolan Committee on this issue. He praised the blatantly racist "White Australia" policy, regretting that the Americans had not had the "good sense and the forethought of the Australians, who have kept all Japanese out of their country." In his testimony, Bowron stated that he believed "a large number"

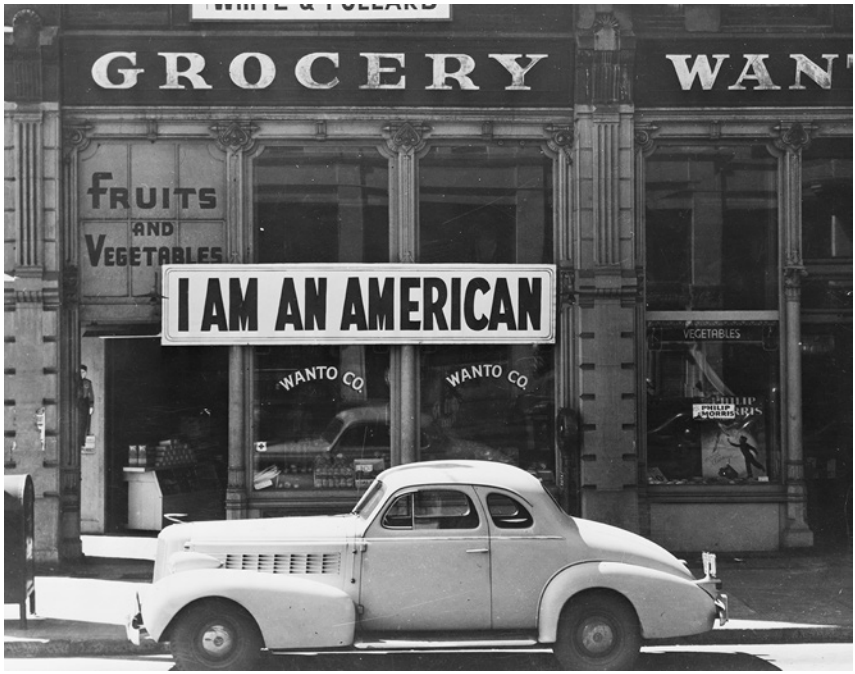

FIGURE 5.2. Sign posted in the shop window of a Japanese American-owned business in Oakland, California, the day after Pearl Harbor. The owner was later interned. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division Washington, item 2004665381.

of Japanese in Los Angeles had been aware of plans for the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.[48] He did not explain why what was largely a second- and third-generation agricultural community would be privy to secret war plans made by the Japanese government.

California governor Culbert Olson admitted that "there are loyal Japanese [resident in America]," including US citizens who spoke only English, but he nonetheless argued for universal detention. This, he explained, was because loyal Japanese Americans would willingly accept detention and because racial characteristics made identifying individual Japanese difficult. While Italian and German individuals could be easily recognized and could therefore remain free, "the average Caucasian can't distinguish between the Japanese. They all look alike."[49] The positions of Olsen and Bowron on the removal of Japanese, in line with established support for exclusion of Asians from the West Coast, were communicated back to a supportive public through local press reports.[50] War hysteria

and the perceived fifth-column threat reinforced the existing prejudice against a traditionally unpopular population.

Even as the war progressed, anti-Asian sentiment on the West Coast was not restricted to persons of Japanese descent. As in the past, the presence of Chinese in America was viewed with concern. In 1943 the Senate debated repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act, which forbade immigration of Chinese nationals to the United States. The move from exclusion to a limited quota system was intended to cement relations between the United States and China as wartime allies. It was not intended to seriously change America's immigration policy but rather to offer a face-saving token quota to bring the policy nominally in line with immigration from other nations. Under the proposed change, only 105 Chinese per year would be admitted. As Senator Charles Andrews of Florida explained, given the importance of China as a military ally, "I am interested in winning this war and this little 105, it's so small, it looks peculiar to me that we haggle over it." California Senator Hiram Johnson disagreed.

Too ill to attend the hearing personally, Johnson sent a letter outlining his views on the proposal. His opposition to Chinese immigration was similar to the anti-Japanese arguments made by his fellow statesmen on the subject of internment the year before. Chinese immigration must be banned because the people are "unassimilable in America" and because "Asiatics" could outcompete Caucasians in low-cost, labor-intensive agricultural work.[51] Echoing Washington's attorney general, Johnson declared that "the working people [of the West Coast] were the pioneers in urging legislation to exclude Asiatics. . . . There are those who now maintain that Chinese immigrants were never a menace to our country but the record speaks for itself." Furthermore, he warned that allowing even limited immigration from China could open the door to admitting other types of Asians.[52] Although the Exclusion Act was ultimately repealed in 1943, the opposition to even a token level of immigration reveals an anti-Asian bias within Congress during the war.

China as an Ally

Despite the serious anti-Asian bias in domestic issues, Congress viewed China quite differently in the international context. The country was of course an important member of the Allied powers, and part of the big four envisioned by President Roosevelt. Expectations for China were fundamental to the postwar structure of East Asia and the future of Japan. Although rosy assumptions were later challenged, the early war years were marked by public and official support. Congressmen were offered historical narratives of US-Chinese cooperation and

mutual esteem by prominent cabinet members, Chinese officials, and of course, the president himself. However, even when hopes for China were at their height, skepticism about the country's viability was visible among isolationists and West Coast representatives.

China Hands

Connected and enthusiastic, China hands were well represented on Capitol Hill. Shortly after the war began, members of Roosevelt's cabinet were invited to speak on the Senate floor during hearings over aid to China. Secretary of War Stimson made the case for increased support based on a special relationship and affinity between the United States and China. The Asian country, he argued, "has traditional relations with the United States which are quite different from those which any other nation has with her." Beyond strong commercial relations, the United States had been especially influential on Chinese development through missionary, medical, and educational charitable activities. Further, the "people who are now in a dominant position in China" had been educated in America. Stimson thus sought to convince Congress that China was a stable country worth supporting by drawing on the missionary history of American "patronage" and the cultural closeness of China, and especially Chinese elites, to America. Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau, whose tough line toward postwar Japan (and Germany) was later demonstrated in the provocative Morgenthau plan, also spoke in favor of a loan in aid to China, although his stated rationale was limited to China's creditworthiness.[53] In February 1943 Madame Chiang Kai-shek made her case as she spoke before Congress in an effort to drum up support for her husband's regime. Like Stimson, she called on the "traditional friendship" between the two countries, and described the "great many similarities" and "identity of ideals" between Americans and Chinese as "the basis of our friendship."[54] She too argued that China was open to American leadership, assuring the House of Representatives that "China is eager and ready to cooperate with you" on postwar plans.[55]

However, proposals for "blank check" loans to China were met with muted opposition from some quarters in Congress. Senator La Follette, before the war a prominent isolationist, was careful not to openly contest a program of aid to a wartime ally before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, especially not one backed by key members of the administration. But while stating that he was "not indicating any hostility to the program," La Follette called for a full and frank discussion of what increased aid to China, in the form of loans that might not be repaid, would mean for the United States. Not surprisingly for a politician suspicious of binding international commitments, La Follette was "anxious to understand what we are really starting out to do" by providing economic support

of Chiang Kai-shek's China, "what we are getting committed to do, and what the implications of it are." Senator Johnson, who opposed Chinese immigration, also doubted the wisdom of the loan. "This loan . . . or whatever you choose to term it," he objected, "is accorded to Chiang Kai-shek for military purposes, without regard to whether we get it back or not."[56] Isolationists, skeptical of extensive international commitments, and West Coast politicians, influenced by regional anti-Asian bias, questioned American patronage of China.

Despite such challenges, pro-China rhetoric had a significant impact on congressional thinking about the country's future. Congressmen, the majority of whom knew little about China, were regularly presented with images of the country as a sympathetic ally with common interests. Lauchlin Currie noted that after the efforts of China hands within government to influence opinion, "the loan itself went through like magic, with all the Cabinet members and congressmen determined not to be outdone in their love for China."[57] Indeed, the hearings included strong statements that more "ought to be done" to support America's Asian ally. Senators Pepper and Gillette noted that lend-lease and previous loans to China were only a small gesture given the country's importance, and they indicated that more ought to be done. Senator Gillette wondered, "Why the limitation [on loan value]? If you are going to bolster morale with 500,000,000, why not bolster it more?"[58] Of course, support for China went beyond loan debates in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Representatives hoped to base future plans in the Pacific "on the great feeling of friendship that the people of our country have for the Chinese."[59] Chiang's wife in particular had an influential presence on Congress. Minnesota representative Walter Judd was the congressman with the most experience in China, having spent ten years as a medical missionary there. He explained, "Madame Chiang came to this country and she captured the American imagination as few foreigners ever had, and certainly as no Asiatic ever had." Following Madame Chiang's speeches before Congress and her national speaking tour, "our estimate of the Chinese soared."[60] Her American education, southern accent, and personal charisma underlined her message of the proximity between Chinese and Americans.

However, thinking on China evolved in Congress as it did elsewhere. Under the guidance of China enthusiasts inside government and out, "China became a country endowed with more than human qualities" from the 1930s in American popular opinion, but as the war progressed China's star began to fade in the American imagination.[61] Like the president's advisers, congressmen had to grapple with the reality of corruption within the KMT, the significant communist opposition, and the possibility that, far from being a pillar of postwar Asia, China would collapse into chaos even before the end of war with Japan. Walter Judd recognized that in 1944 America was experiencing "a swing-back

into over-disillusionment. Those who a year ago could hardly find words good enough with which to describe our Chinese allies, now can hardly find words bad enough."[62] Congress wondered if the survival of Chiang's regime was possible and, if not, whether China might still be a reliable ally around which to base America's plans.

Asia Specialists in Congress

The body's most qualified members offered different answers to these concerns. In the fall of 1944 Representatives Mike Mansfield and Walter Judd made trips to China in order to assess the situation, and they reported their conclusions before Congress. Mike Mansfield of Montana had developed an interest in Asia during his service there as a marine in the early 1920s. Before serving in the Senate, he undertook graduate studies and taught history and international relations at the University of Montana. Mansfield was well versed on Asia issues; his master's thesis was on US-Korean relations prior to Japanese colonization, and his teaching included courses on Asia.[63] A Democratic member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mansfield undertook a visit to China as a special mission requested by Roosevelt. The resulting report underplayed the danger of communist opposition in China and reaffirmed support for Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Mansfield's characterization of the CCP resembles the nonideological outlook that would later be expressed by Harry Truman. Indeed, Truman would consult with Mansfield on Asia issues after becoming president.[64] The interests of the CCP, Mansfield declared, "seem to focus on primarily agrarian reforms" and thus did not undermine US aims. Americans "do not care whether a Chinese is an agrarian [communist] or not, just so he fights Japan and takes that much of the burden off our shoulders." Mansfield, as a Roosevelt emissary, spoke for his country and informed Chiang that "he had had and would continue to have, our full support." Of the leader, Mansfield reported to Congress that "he and he alone, can untangle the present situation. . . . He is China."[65] For Mike Mansfield, despite flaws in the KMT, internal problems need not undermine the stability of China. American support for Chiang, coupled with encouragement for reforms, would help ensure that China remained a useful ally in the future.

Walter Judd offered quite a different view of the situation. First, he was far more conservative in his expectations. Second, he made it clear that the CCP represented a serious threat to a united China. Judd's speech before Congress in March 1945 was provocative. He argued that China had only limited potential in the near term. Demonstrating an unusually nuanced understanding of historical context, Judd explained that the KMT had had only a short period to begin the project of modernization and unification. Its starting point had been

the warlordism and chaos that had marked China since the collapse of the Qing dynasty some thirty years before. Countering the characterization of China as a unified, democratic, America-like nation, Judd explained that the factionalism and internal dissent in modern China were a significant improvement over the previous anarchy. In contrast to the prevalent belief that China was an inherently democratic nation, he stated that "neither Chiang Kai-shek's government nor the Communists are democratic in our sense of protecting the full rights of minorities and of opposition parties. China has never in her history had a political democracy." In addition to this more grim characterization of the situation, Judd described the KMT-CCP rivalry as very dangerous. This was not like American political disputes, such as Republican opposition to liberal policies under Roosevelt. Rather, the Communists "are not just a political party. They are an armed rebellion." Judd, like Mansfield and the Roosevelt administration, stated that "victory in Asia is not just defeat of Japan but a strong and independent China." However, Judd sought to manage expectations on this goal. China would likely lose regions to a separatist communist movement, and progress toward "strength" would have to be measured slowly against its current underdeveloped, undemocratic, and disunited state.[66]

Congressional opinion of China shifted dramatically during the war, from enthusiastic support for an idealized nation to more cautious assessments of a collapsing ally. Officials debated the potential of China as a postwar power and whether some accommodation of the CCP was possible within the Nationalist government. Lack of apparent alternatives and continued administration statements about the importance of postwar China led to continued, if reluctant, support of Chiang Kai-shek. In the face of criticism for the weakening regime, plans for postwar China were fit within the context of an expanded American role in the Pacific made possible by new island bases and by collective security through international organizations.

The Fight for Public Opinion

Congress grappled with the big questions in American foreign relations, despite lack of involvement with bureaucratic planning and opposition from the White House. Even before Pearl Harbor, congressmen complained about being cut out of the decision-making process and lamented that under a strong, popular executive "Congress has delegated many of its powers in the last few years" as a result of "constant, effective attrition, predicated on emergencies."[67] Asserting policy control was difficult, particularly because of the actions the Roosevelt administration had taken to sideline congressional debate by avoiding consultation,

hoarding information, and requesting that the body not undermine unity in wartime by holding public debates about the future. Congressmen complained about "lack of information, particularly regarding postwar understandings, at [international conferences held in] Casablanca, Quebec, Cairo and Teheran."[68] Without knowing the extent of the postwar commitments made by the executive in international conferences, it was difficult for congressmen to formulate opinions on postwar foreign policy. However, Congress did debate key issues such as international cooperation and new military bases in the Pacific.

Although the isolationist movement had been checked by the administration before Pearl Harbor and effectively ended with America's entry into the war, former isolationists remained influential figures in Congress and continued to have a perspective on foreign policy based on isolationism. Even as popular and official consensus shifted toward greater international cooperation, the echoes of isolationism were heard in cynicism about the prospect of long-term cooperation with allies and in reluctance to take on large commitments after the war. Administration officials and internationalist congressmen worried about a potential popular resurgence after the war ended.

In 1943, two of the most influential members of Roosevelt's cabinet, Hull and Stimson, discussed strategies to manage a possible return of isolationism among Republicans in Congress after the war. The men predicted that "after election they [Republican congressmen] will be as violently isolationist as they were after the last war." Hull and Stimson worried that such a position would be particularly dangerous for internationalism if it were bolstered by a "never again" sentiment from returning troops, "which would be tantamount to isolationism." In order to counter this possibility, the men discussed "missionary work with the soldiers," including distributing a "white book" setting out the internationalist case: "why we had to fight and . . . anti-isolationism."[69] In addition, Vice President Henry Wallace continued to advocate internationalism and interventionism. He announced in his speeches that American interests would be served if the country, through its businessmen and missionaries, lent a "helping hand" to China and India in the postwar world.[70] It would be impossible to extend that helping hand abroad or pursue a more active foreign policy in the face of obstruction by isolationists in Congress and the public.

The B2H2 and Fulbright Resolutions

Internationalists in Congress also worried about postwar isolationism and sought to neutralize the threat by committing the country to an internationalist path before the war ended. It was not until spring 1943 that such a commitment seemed possible. At that time Allied military victories shifted attention toward

postwar planning, as victory appeared distant but likely and early consensus on the world to follow took shape. The House and Senate debated bipartisan resolutions between spring and fall 1943 on the necessity of an international organization for peace and American membership in such an organization. In Senate this was called the Ball-Burton Hatch-Hill (B2H2) resolution. As one supporter, Representative John Vorys, explained, "I think there is a real danger [of resurgent isolationism]. I think that the way to prevent that danger is to create and crystallize the sentiment of our own people and the best time to do it is now, not after the war is over."[71] The B2H2 resolution would have a number of benefits beyond checking isolationists. It was a chance to engage in public education and constituted a direct response to Congress's rejection of League of Nations membership after World War I.

To rally public support for the policy initiative, members of the House and Senate from both parties traveled around the country in eight bipartisan teams on a speaking campaign.[72] The tour was intended to dovetail with the debate stirred by the resolutions in order to educate and inform Americans about the need for greater international involvement. In a discussion on the House counterpart to B2H2, the Fulbright resolution, Representative Howard McMurray from the traditionally isolationist state of Wisconsin explained that one "cannot decide international policy in a democratic country unless the people understand what is possible." In this case, the Congress needed to take on a mission of "educational leadership" with the paternalistic goal of correcting the public's "wrong assumptions," like the idea that American security could be ensured through noninvolvement in international affairs. What was needed was a short, clear resolution the American people would understand, "something that can be put in a box in a newspaper" so that "even the readers of the picture papers would be capable of reading that much."[73] During the speaking campaign, McMurray argued to an audience at Carnegie Hall that "Woodrow Wilson was the great realist of his time" and that his ideas on international cooperation were needed after this war.[74]

In addition to priming the ground of public opinion, the B2H2 speaking campaign of 1943 brought Congress and the executive together in an unexpected way. Missouri senator Harry Truman, a supporter of the resolution, was not one of the main speakers on the tour because, as Walter Judd explained, "He wasn't very much of a speaker and he wasn't as well-known." Still, he was asked to come in as a substitute when another senator became unavailable.[75] When Senator Truman became president in April 1945, the executive then was taken over by a man who shared the consensus of leading members of the House and Senate on America's role in the postwar world. The B2H2 debates were crucial to postwar planning because they demonstrated that Congress was not fundamentally opposed to

the various internationalist postwar commitments being developed by Roosevelt and the State Department planners. This allowed planners to continue to work on the assumption of a large American role as an active player in the Far East and part of a big four without concern that Congress would use its power to block their plans after victory.

Challenges to Internationalists

Not surprisingly, the B2H2 resolutions were met with criticism from former isolationists. In response to the B2H2 debates, the *New York Times* invited Senator Wheeler to speak on behalf of isolationists on the question of postwar planning. The resulting opinion piece revealed the thinking of those isolationists who had abandoned their beliefs only after Pearl Harbor. Wheeler agreed that cooperation might be necessary in the postwar world, but, in classic isolationist fashion, he rejected membership in an international organization or any sort of postwar commitment that would limit American freedom to decide its own actions and interests. Wheeler roundly rejected the B2H2 proposal for an international police force, one of the more provocative points in the plan for a postwar international organization. The force would require high cost in terms of manpower and create a "peace that America would underwrite that would depend for its execution on the continuous use of force." Such a peace, he argued, "would not be a peace at all."[76] Senator Wheeler suggested that American support for free trade, not military intervention on a global scale, would create lasting peace. However, public opinion had swung the other way. In July 1943, four months after B2H2 was proposed, a Gallup poll found that 74 percent of Americans supported the creation of an international police force.[77]

As it had done before the war, the Roosevelt administration moved to block any congressional challenge to its dominance over foreign policy. This is somewhat surprising, as the policy advocated in B2H2 was similar to Roosevelt's own thinking on postwar plans. However, FDR was cautious about limiting his future range of action by making specific commitments during the war. He instead preferred vague statements that could be interpreted as he wished in the still uncertain future. In order to stifle public and congressional debate and maintain his grip on postwar policy, Roosevelt issued a statement in March 1943, shortly after the resolution was introduced. In the statement he praised the "broad principles of a Senate resolution [B2H2] . . . pledging international cooperation to maintain peace after the war, but he implied that the time was not ripe for a detailed statement of the organization."[78] Senators ignored this challenge and continued to insist on a full debate on the subject.

Perhaps in response to this pressure, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Tom Connally put forward his own resolution as a substitute for

B2H2. Senators rejected the new statement as too vague to be meaningful and continued to campaign for the original resolution.[79] Henrietta McCormick Hill, the wife of Senator Hill, recalled in her diary that the Connally resolution was referred to as a "mother Hubbard—it covers everything but touches nothing."[80] In November 1943, the administration asked Senator Connally to put forward instead a statement of congressional approval of the American position taken at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. This new resolution was similar to B2H2 but had the benefit of Secretary Hull's approval and having been previously circulated to America's allies.

In this way, the Roosevelt administration effectively sidelined Congress in its planning for postwar internationalism.[81] At the same time, in signing a compromise resolution, Congress approved a bill recognizing "the necessity [of] . . . a general international organization [for] . . . maintenance of international peace and security."[82] Congressmen did not want or expect the approval of a watered down B2H2 resolution to be the end of their involvement in postwar planning. As Representative John Hinshaw said of his yes vote, it was not intended as a "blank-check endorsement . . . [or] an authorization for the President to bind this country to a plan that he may deem appropriate, without further legislative approval."[83] Approval of this resolution did, however, make another congressional rejection of postwar internationalism unlikely.

The Future of Japan

The most attractive territorial prize for the United States was Japan's island mandates, awarded by the League of Nations after the Great War. These islands could be used as military bases to increase American military presence, and by extension security, in the Pacific. Like the president, Congress was supportive of American appropriation of Japanese islands. However, the president was mindful of the Atlantic Charter and his vision of "Americanism," both of which would preclude unilateral seizure and annexation of overseas territories by the United States. Although American possession of the islands was discussed by the Allies throughout the war, Roosevelt was careful to avoid accusations of territorial aggrandizement by making it clear that any control would be taken under a trusteeship approved by the Allies.[84] Congress was not as subtle.

At several points between 1943 and 1945 congressmen spoke out directly about the need for American annexation of Japan's island possessions. An early public call came from Senator Millard Tydings, the chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. Tydings had a long interest in American involvement in the Pacific region and had cosponsored the Philippine Independence

Act in 1934, which had redefined the US- Philippine relationship and set a ten-year deadline for independence of the colony. In the fall of 1943, as the Congress was still debating B2H2 and involvement in postwar international security organizations, Tydings spoke on the issue of bases on the Star and Blue Network National Radio Forum. He declared that the islands ought to be taken from Japan for use as US bases, thus securing the postwar Pacific.[85] Several months later, concerned by moves in Australia and New Zealand, the House began planning to create a committee to discuss postwar military policy in the Pacific. The new committee was to focus on developing bases on former Japanese mandates and "other valuable territory."[86] Although discussions within the House Naval Affairs Committee continued, the subcommittee examining the acquisition and development of the Pacific islands was not created until January 1945.

Representative Will Rogers proposed carving up the Japanese Empire between the Allies in a manner similar to that proposed by Roosevelt. Like State Department officials, Rogers was unaware of secret territorial commitments being discussed with China and Russia, but he imagined correctly that Sakhalin and the northern Kuriles would go to Russia and that China would be offered Formosa and the Ryukyus.[87] New Zealand and Australia, he argued, would support US annexation of the mandated islands because the move would guarantee regional security.[88] Tennessee senator Kenneth McKellar took these ideas further, and in August 1944 submitted a resolution calling for the United States to permanently retain not only Japan's League of Nations mandated islands, but the Ryukyus and Formosa as well. Although Formosa had been taken from China after the first Sino-Japanese War, McKellar argued that it was in safer hands under US ownership, and therefore an American claim would be in the best interest of all parties. Occupied areas, he stated, "belong to us under the rules of war. We can do with them what we like."[89] The resolution was attacked in the press. A *Time* article entitled "Brotherly Greed" characterized the proposal as "the inward stirrings of manifest destiny."[90] Regardless, congressional discussions about territorial acquisitions continued.

Shortly thereafter, Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, met with the SWNCCFE about plans for island bases. He requested copies of the recommendations made by the group to serve as a starting point for the new subcommittee discussions. Significantly, Vinson specifically requested drafts on the Kurile Islands. Like bureaucratic planners, congressmen were not informed about secret agreements made by Roosevelt and therefore based their planning work on misinformation. Vinson explained to SWNCCFE planners that for the naval committee, "control" of island bases would necessarily mean American sovereignty over them. This did not fit in with either Roosevelt's or the planners' conception of UN mandates as a mechanism for allowing American use of bases

without openly contradicting the principle of nonaggrandizement. Ballantine explained this position and "after considerable discussion" convinced Vinson to accept the idea of transferring sovereignty to an international organization, which would in turn grant control of the territories to the United States.[91] After the meeting, the House Committee on Naval Affairs put forward a proposal for a bill declaring that islands in the Pacific taken from Japan would be kept for American defense.[92]

Congressional activity on this issue raised hackles in the White House, where it was believed that overt expansionist claims could cause embarrassment and problems between the Allies. As Roosevelt explained in his final State of the Nation address, "The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of differences among the victors. We must not let those differences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace."[93] Roosevelt asked James Byrnes to intercede on his behalf in response to the proposed Committee for Naval Affairs bill. The legislation should be dropped, Byrnes told Vinson, because it would be embarrassing to Roosevelt, who had repeatedly declared that the United States had no interest in territorial gain.[94] As with B2H2, the White House discouraged congressional debate and activity even when the two branches were broadly in agreement. However, the actions of leading congressmen make it clear that members of Congress, like Roosevelt, supported a circumscribed Japan, stripped of territory, and a new strong American military presence in the Pacific.

Disarmament

Across the government, wartime planning for postwar Japan assumed that the country would be demilitarized and rendered incapable of future aggression. Congress was no exception. Regardless of party membership or ideological affiliation, congressmen consistently supported plans to destroy Japan's military capability. Because the current enemies were seen as the greatest possible threat to future peace, "permanently and conclusively and effectively disarming Germany and Japan" was at the top of the postwar agenda. Senator Vandenberg, speaking as an opposition leader before the Senate in response to Roosevelt's 1945 State of the Nation address, stated that it was "simply unthinkable that America, or any other member of the United Nations, would allow this Axis calamity to reproduce itself again."[95] In order to avoid such an occurrence, America would have to go down a path of increased involvement and cooperation with foreign nations. The former isolationist proposed signing treaties with the Allies pledging to keep Germany and Japan demilitarized and to put down any future aggression by the

defeated nations.[96] Disarming Japan would require an invasion and occupation after the war, and, like President Roosevelt, congressmen argued that the heavy involvement of China as an ally would defray American costs and also preclude accusations of a "conquering white man's war."[97] Policing would be required to limit Japan's trade and industry for a long probationary period. Such statements reassured internationalists that even costly plans for Japan could "be carried out without recurrent congressional obstruction and debate."[98] The permanent demilitarization of Japan, a key hallmark of the postwar country, was thus settled without challenge.

What Caused the War?

Beyond simple disarmament, congressmen sought to avoid a future war by understanding the causes of the current conflict. As one senator explained, "It is not enough to annihilate Hitler. We must eliminate the factors which gave rise to Hitler."[99] The same was true of Japan's military leadership. Disagreements on this question lay behind divergent opinions on the postwar world and Japan's place in it. While not offering recommendations, Walter Judd suggested that Western logic could not provide alternatives the Japanese might accept. Judd believed that Japan had rejected a modus vivendi with the United States in 1941 against its own financial interests for reasons of national psychology. Any planned treatment of the Japanese, therefore, would have to take into account the irrationality of the Japanese character. Although "infantile," he explained to his fellow congressmen, a "terrific inferiority complex" caused by interaction with the more "physically impressive" Chinese and Westerners "is a dominant feature in Japanese psychology." The Japanese, Judd argued, were also "singularly unimaginative," "conforming" and suffered collectively from a "persecution psychosis." These factors had made the Japanese into "the most moody, self-pitying, and morbidly introspective people in the world."[100] Given this oversensitivity to slights, successful management of Japan would depend more on face saving than on developing legitimate shared interests between victor and vanquished.

By contrast, for internationalists who called for a world government or at least an organization modeled on the League of Nations, it was not an inherent flaw in the Japanese state that had caused the current conflict. Rather, warfare was the natural result of an anarchic international system. Just as individuals behaved according to laws under government, a world government was needed to constrain and regulate the relations between nations. As Representative Howard McMurray argued, good and bad people existed across national boundaries. The cause of conflict was not populations of evil individuals.[101] In this liberal view, the solution for neutralizing Japan lay not in radically changing the country itself

but in creating a supragovernmental system through which all nations could work. Of course, this conception met with opposition, especially from former isolationists. As Vandenberg observed, "The clash of rival foreign interests, which have motivated wars for countless centuries, are not likely suddenly to surrender to some simple man-made formula, no matter how nobly meditated."[102] One view thus required the creation of a powerful international organization to constrain Japan in the future, while the other demanded that America must remain strong enough to deter or repulse challenges from foreign powers when interests conflicted. Disarming Japan and building American strength in the region, both generally accepted courses of action, would be needed to neutralize the Japan threat.

Surprisingly, Senator Wheeler's views on neutralizing Japan mirrored thinking within the IDAFE. Speaking about Germany, Wheeler argued that the Axis powers had become a danger as a result of "the clogging and distortion of the channels of trade." This, and population growth, had led to "the debasement of their standards of living," which in turn had caused political turmoil.[103] IDAFE planners reached the same conclusion about Japan and had consequently made tying the country to the international system through trade and increased living standards a keystone of postwar plans. Mike Mansfield, whose experience with China has been considered above, added an additional requirement for the long-term pacification of Japan. While he did not argue that the emperor was responsible for Japanese aggression, Mansfield believed that the imperial system needed to be removed to prevent future menace. If the emperor were maintained, "the Japanese warlords could use him to build back up into a military nation."[104] Representative Rogers agreed, stating that America could not indulge the "fairyland" approach of the Japanese toward their emperor. "We should treat the emperor precisely as we would treat any other responsible leader of a cruel people."[105] Although independent of other wartime time planning groups, during the war Congress considered the same questions on how best to neutralize defeated Japan.

Other Voices

Congress, as representative of the American people, was exposed to ordinary voices on the Japan question in a way in which other planners were not. Congressmen met with the families of servicemen and received constituent letters as news of Japanese atrocities was released during the war. As a result, this source of policymaking was uniquely colored by rage, war hate, and calls for vengeance. Shortly after the War Department released its account of Japanese abuse of POWs in the Philippines, including the now infamous Bataan Death March, Senator

Dennis Chavez of New Mexico took to the Senate floor to read letters sent to him by military families. In his emotional presentation, Chavez named each author as the wife or parent of a soldier imprisoned by the Japanese, "if not dead." Many of the telegrams called on Congress to redouble the war effort in the Pacific. Chavez and his constituents expressed anger at the War and Navy Departments' decision to keep reports about the atrocities from the Congress and the public. One soldier's wife wrote to ask, "Since Japan has taken such a great authority in mistreating our boys, why don't we do the same thing to the imprisoned Japs in America?"[106] Her desire for retaliation was shared by many congressmen.

The morning that press reports on Bataan were released, the Senate floor was flooded with outrage and anti-Japanese vitriol, which affected the senators' views on postwar Japan. Senator James Davis and Senator Carl Hatch, a coauthor of the progressive B2H2 bill, agreed that the day's news "disqualifies Japan from even being considered one of the civilized nations of the world." This view was entirely at odds with the soft peace plans developed by the State Department to reorient Japan into a cooperative member of international society through a period of occupation. If the Japanese were indeed "heathens . . . uncivilized pagans . . . brutes and beasts in the form of men," the Senate majority leader wondered "whether anybody could under any conditions, over any period of years, open Japan up to civilization." If reorientation would not be possible, three themes for dealing with Japan emerged from that morning's session. Japan could be taught a lesson through cruel retribution, isolated from the world, or utterly destroyed.[107]

Senator Hill, another B2H2 author, hoped that America would soon reach "the heart of Japan and bomb and burn and scorch them with fire and teach the Japanese that war is indeed hell in all its fury." Senators that day were clear that retribution ought to be meted out not only to the leadership but to the Japanese people as a whole. This would not only prevent Japan from future aggression through a harsh lesson but also "satisfy every mother's and every father's heart which has been wrung today." Alternatively, Japan might be "forever isolated within the borders and confines of their little islands, and never again allowed any contact with the outside world." Senators likened this to a lifetime prison sentence for violent criminals. Finally, some suggested that "Japan as a nation should be wiped off the face of the earth."[108] Months later, Representative Rogers quoted a radio commentator to explain his position on the treatment of postwar Japan. "Well," he said, "I haven't heard very much news from Carthage lately."[109] He hoped to salt the earth and deny Japan a future. The horrors of war generated powerful feelings of rage and hate toward Japan within Congress, radically challenging the views of more insulated Asia experts in think tanks and bureaucratic circles.

Cost of Policing and Rebuilding

Despite broad support for disarming Japan and international security agreements, scattered opposition remained. Dissension on the Japan question arose from an unwillingness to shoulder the extensive costs of rehabilitating an enemy. Old isolationist arguments reemerged diluted. La Follette admitted that Americans could not "wash our hands of the whole business and refuse to take on the responsibilities our participation in the war has thrust upon us." However, he argued that America could do the most good on the world stage by becoming a model for other nations through government domestic investment in full employment, housing, and education. Putting its "own house in order," not foreign reconstruction, ought to be America's top spending priority. Instead of rebuilding other nations, La Follette supported short-term relief programs, to be replaced by loans and credits.[110] Ending a discussion on the treatment of Japan, Representative Herman Knutson asked the House, "Is it about time we began to think about America and the future of the American people, rather than concerning ourselves about putting a bottle of milk upon everybody's doorstep?"[111] Senator Taft, meanwhile, identified the major flaw in administration thinking as the idea "that American money and American charity shall solve every problem." The American people, Taft thought, were happy to "give up any idea of ruling the world or telling other countries how to manage their own affairs." There would be "no reason for occupying Germany [and Japan] after every military weapon has been destroyed."[112] Other representatives made similar criticisms, stating that by supporting the reorientation of postwar enemies, Uncle Sam was in danger of becoming Santa Claus.[113]

Such criticism stood in stark contrast with the costly and extensive plans for occupying and restructuring Japan being developed in the IDAFE. As congressional approval was needed for spending, such challenges were dangerous for postwar planners. However, the critics remained in the minority and were unable to seriously challenge plans. Most congressmen, Democrats and Republicans, recognized that a period of occupation would be necessary to reach the goal of disarming Japan. They also acknowledged that some measure of international cooperation would be needed to contain and monitor Japan in the future. Speaking for Republican presidential candidate Thomas Dewey in 1944, John Foster Dulles explained that Japan would be policed by the United States, Britain, China, and possibly Russia after disarmament.[114] Whichever party controlled the White House, it was clear that the postwar government would support an expensive and expansive foreign policy.

During World War II, Congress moved from being a largely isolationist body to one marked by general support for internationalism and an active foreign policy.

Congressmen held views on Asia formed by personal expertise or regional and ideological perspectives. These in turn affected legislation and expectations for American relations with China and Japan. Plans for Asia in Congress were bound up in the great isolationist-interventionist debate. Congressmen had limited interaction with bureaucratic planners, and the body was effectively sidelined by the Roosevelt administration throughout the period. However, this support for internationalism was necessary if wartime plans were to become policy and action after victory.

Looking forward to the postwar world in 1945, members of Congress had decisively answered a question posed by the America First Committee five years earlier: "Are we to take policing of the entire world upon our shoulders?"[115] The answer was a qualified yes. Throughout the war years, political leaders in Congress moved steadily toward the internationalist and interventionist line seen in bureaucratic planning. More and more, members of Congress came to agree with the postwar planners that "we have found that we are not secure, that we are continuously vulnerable to attack." Small conflicts in "remote corners of the world" had the potential to "grow into world conflagrations" and threaten the United States. Keeping peace, political leaders agreed, was possible only through "continuous thought and effort."[116] Reflecting the shift in broader American thinking, Congress came to accept the immense costs of reorienting and reconstructing former belligerents, making security commitments, and supporting international organizations.

Through their wartime efforts, the Roosevelt administration and internationalists in Congress pushed the legislative branch out of the way of postwar planning. Congress would not, as it had after the Great War, block peace plans on the grounds that the burden on the United States was too heavy. The expensive, sweeping measures developed by bureaucratic planners to reorient Japan and build up American leadership in the Pacific would not be obstructed by congressional veto over spending and treaty agreements. With this potential obstacle overcome, and with the approval of a new president, the way was clear for ambitious plans developed by official area experts, with the input of think tanks and opinion leaders, to be put into action. Congressmen were rarely involved in the evolution of planning in the White House and State Department, and the body was home to diverse views on Japan and the postwar world. These politicians would respond with surprise and criticism to the SWNCC policies put into place as the postwar occupation began.

6

READY OR NOT

Harry Truman and the End of the War

At five in the afternoon on April 12, 1945, Vice President Harry Truman received a telephone call from FDR's secretary requesting that he come to the White House as soon as possible. When he arrived at what would become his residence for the next eight years, Truman first heard the devastating news. The vice president had not known Roosevelt well but admired the skilled politician as a "great leader [who] came forward and rescued the country from chaos" during the political challenges of the 1930s.[1] The great leader was dead, and Truman had to take over the presidency immediately. Two hours later, he stood with his wife, daughter, and such cabinet members and congressmen as could be assembled on short notice that Thursday night. The oath of office, made over a hastily located Bible, took only a minute. Late in the clear and mild night, when he found himself home at last, Truman ate his first meal as president, a supper of leftover turkey supplied by the neighbors. On that day, Truman began keeping a diary to record his experiences in his new position. He recalled of that night coming home exhausted and hungry.[2]

When Harry Truman took office, he assumed a position for which he was poorly prepared. Lacking background on America's complex relations with the rest of the world and the popular mandate and the political savvy of Roosevelt, he attempted to create policy continuity between administrations. He did this by relying heavily on Roosevelt's advisers and existing recommendations, a practice in which FDR himself had rarely engaged. Over the summer of 1945, Truman began to develop his own opinions on foreign policy and the allies and enemies with which America interacted. The short period between his assumption of the presidency and the surrender of Japan was a time in which many other issues

arose. Staff changes altered the nature of the administration, and the terms of Japan's surrender were considered in light of complicated international relations and the creation of the atomic bomb. As victory neared and in the transition to the postwar period, key issues such as international cooperation, the division of Japan's territories, and long-range American goals for Japan were reevaluated. Once agreed on, the sum of American planning was made public, open to response from experts, elites, and politicians. At the same time, new actors emerged with the task of implementing policy on the ground in Asia.

At the time of Roosevelt's death it was not certain that the bureaucratic planning described in chapter 2 would become the center of policy. The major development of this period was the widespread acceptance within the administration of the planners' ideas and aims. This was true even though the plans were altered in response to events and new voices in summer and fall of 1945. The course of events in the early Truman administration opened the door for the recommendations of a small group of Japan specialists in the State Department to become American policy. In the transition from war to victory, these recommendations were approved as SWNCC 150/4, the document that was sent to occupation administrators to guide American actions in defeated Japan. A broad consensus supporting the radical policy goals of the planners developed after Roosevelt's death.

Heir to a "Terrible Job"

Until recently a midwestern senator, Truman had replaced Wallace as Roosevelt's vice president only three months before becoming the leader of a nation at war. Although he had been a voice for international cooperation in Congress, Truman had not been included in his predecessor's foreign policymaking. He had little knowledge of the manifold problems that would face him as president. A small-town American from a rural satellite of a Kansas City suburb, Harry Truman lacked the internationalist perspective of Franklin Roosevelt.[3] However, the new president had a voracious appetite for books, which he attributed to his lack of athletic ability as a child, and an interest in history and distant places. An anecdote from the wife of Dean Acheson demonstrates the international character of Truman's reading interest. When central Asia was mentioned in passing in a dinner conversation, Truman launched into an impromptu lecture on the long history of the region, to the surprise of his fellow diners. In his typical plainspoken, self-deprecating style he later explained that he was "not a scholar" and read "the wrong books." However, he offered, "I read a lot, and I suppose I get some good ones now and then."[4] This ad hoc self-guided study informed Truman's understanding of the world beyond Missouri.

The new president had much to learn in order to guide the complex foreign policy of a nation at war, and his lack of a popular mandate only made the job more difficult. In April and May Truman informed top advisers in Washington and government representatives abroad "to stay on and carry on just as [they] had been doing" and "continue . . . efforts to accomplish the purposes outlined . . . by President Roosevelt."[5] During that time, the new president worked with Roosevelt's top advisers to gain an understanding of America's foreign policy and far-flung interests.

Several members of Truman's cabinet recorded their impressions of the new president. A year earlier, Stimson had held a negative opinion of then senator Truman. "Truman is a nuisance and a pretty untrustworthy man," the war secretary noted, "he talks smoothly but acts meanly."[6] Thirteen months later, however, and under entirely different circumstances, Stimson was willing to give Truman the benefit of the doubt. He wrote that the new president was "very friendly in his manner and words" and commented, "On the whole my impression was favorable."[7] Truman appeared to be quite open with his new advisers, frankly admitting to Treasury Secretary Morgenthau on his second day in office, "I need help." Morgenthau, who had been close to Roosevelt, was pleased that Truman "was most courteous . . . and made a good impression." However, Roosevelt's advisers did not immediately trust in Truman's sincerity or ability. "After all," Morgenthau recorded in his diary, "he is a politician, and what is going on in his head only time will tell."[8] General George Marshall had a similar response to his meeting with the new president, warning his colleagues, "We shall not know what he is really like until the pressure begins to be felt."[9] Stimson wrote of Truman's difficult position that although the man was "willing and anxious to learn and to do his best," he would have to grapple with "threads of information . . . so multitudinous that only long previous familiarity could allow him to control them."[10] In the days and months after Roosevelt's death, the deceased president's staff sought to help an unprepared Truman manage the cat's cradle of American foreign policy issues through briefings and forceful policy recommendations.

Briefing the New President

The briefings Truman received from his advisers during the critical first days of office seemed to indicate that Japan and its future were not pressing issues. To begin with, surrender, especially for Japan, was not expected in the near future. On Truman's second day in office, he was informed in a gathering of top military advisers that while Germany was expected to surrender within six months, Japan would likely continue to fight for another year and a half.[11] The long time horizon to Japan's surrender certainly did not make postwar handling of the country top

among the many immediate issues facing the nation. That same day, Secretary of State Stettinius sent Truman a six-page "summary of world events" to help the president get up to speed on US foreign policy. The report made no mention of Japan or even Asia.[12]

As time went on, the new president was introduced to the key issues in America's East Asia policy. Two weeks into the new administration, Acting Secretary Joseph Grew provided Truman with the outlines of America's policy toward China, the critical issue in American plans for postwar Asia. Truman learned that the government considered "the establishment of a strong and united China as a necessary principal stabilizing factor in the Far East" and was working to help China gain recognition as a great power. Roosevelt had hoped this policy would create a strong China that could share the burden with the United States and "contribute to peace and security."[13] The briefing also included the statement that America was flexible and willing to work with leaders in China other than Chiang Kai-shek, although there had been little evidence of that flexibility beyond Roosevelt's friendly letter to Mao in February 1945. William Donovan, the head of the OSS, had sent President Roosevelt regular reports about strategic issues in American policy abroad and continued doing so for Truman.[14] European issues dominated these reports, and the first OSS report on Asia did not cross Truman's desk until early May. This report highlighted the danger of Russian domination of East Asia after the collapse of Japan. "Once Japan is defeated," the report warned, "the position of Russia in Asia will be strengthened enormously. Even though China may, in a sense, replace Japan as the leading Oriental power" she would not be able to "hold her own" against Russia.[15] These early briefings alerted Truman to the potential for instability in East Asia after the surrender of Japan and advocated for a strong China to help the United States rebuild order in the region without Japan as a major player.

Harry Truman was much more reliant on formal advisers for information than his predecessor had been. His treatment of the China expert Owen Lattimore in the summer of 1945 is indicative of the new president's more conventional style of information gathering. Lattimore, who, in addition to having been a Roosevelt-appointed adviser to Chiang Kai-shek had accompanied Vice President Wallace on a 1944 mission to China, wrote Truman to offer advice on China policy in preparation for the Potsdam conference. This was the sort of informal analysis in which Roosevelt would have been interested. Truman, after a distinctly unwelcoming reply, agreed to meet with Lattimore to discuss the Soviet Union and China.[16] Lattimore later recalled of the short meeting, "[Truman] told me, in less than three minutes, that he had Stalin under control, he had Chiang under contro, [*sic*] so please go home, which I did."[17] The place of the president in the planning process had changed.

FIGURE 6.1. Stalin, Truman, and Churchill at the Potsdam conference. Courtesy of the German Federal Archives: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-29645-0001 / CC-BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons.

Thinking about the Allies

Despite Truman's desire to "follow Roosevelt's policy" by relying on formal advisers, the new president did have his own ideas about the world. In his first months in office Truman's personal handwritten notes capture his struggle to define opinions on American relations with the Allies and the world. These helped shape Truman's approach to what he called "this terrible job I fell heir to."[18] As was the case for Roosevelt, Truman's own thinking on China, Japan, and Russia had an impact on his response to the events that unfolded over the course of the summer.

Harry Truman was later remembered as an inflexible cold warrior, but in 1945 his uncertainty about his new office, his Christian faith, and his self-study of the world led him to take a position of remarkable tolerance and flexibility. With the defeat of Germany in May, the major precondition for Soviet entry into the war against Japan had been met. Drawing on agreements between Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, within two or three months the Soviet Union would become an

ally in the Pacific, expanding the field of Soviet-American cooperation.[19] Truman did not yet see communism as an ideology that precluded collaboration. On the contrary, his personal notes from this period refer to his understanding of communist ideals and his willingness to work with the Soviet Union.

As in the Roosevelt administration, ideology was not a decisive factor in selecting or working with allies. In his book on the origins of the Cold War, Frank Costigliola characterizes Truman as "skeptical of foreigners" and uncomfortable with the ambiguity of gradual and evolving policies. Although one must be careful in drawing too much from self-written declarations of unbiased viewpoints, Truman's long-hand notes are at odds with Costigliola's description of a man "neither temperamentally nor intellectually inclined toward . . . patience."[20] Weeks before his July trip to meet Allied leaders at Potsdam Truman wrote, "I am not afraid of Russia. They've always been our friends and I can't see why they shouldn't always be." He argued that differences in political systems could be put aside; "they evidently like their government. . . . I like ours so let's get along."[21] He argued that although the Soviet "Godless Peasant System" would not work, "Honest Communism" fit easily into the teachings of the Bible as well as "Confucius, Budda [*sic*], and Christ."[22] He applied the same tolerant perspective to American policy in China. "We send missionaries and political propagandists to China . . . and everywhere to tell those people how to live. Most of 'em know as much or more than we do."[23] Truman privately disavowed xenophobia. "Fact is," he jotted in his diary, "I never thought God picked any favorites. It is my studied opinion that any race, creed or color can be God's favorites if they act the part."[24] Such reflections indicate that Truman, like Roosevelt, was willing to take a flexible approach toward Chinese and Russian leadership.

Truman explained and defended his China policy in an interview a decade later. He reported that he had been convinced by top Chinese figures "that Chiang Kai-shek had a government which was firm and established and which the people wanted."[25] Truman may well have genuinely believed in the KMT's ability to govern a stable and democratic China, but he was certainly aware of the intense criticism of the Nationalists both within China and among American officials, having regularly received reports on the subject from the OSS and State Department. He also consulted his former congressional colleague Mike Mansfield on issues regarding China.[26] Truman repudiated the accusation that he was to blame for America's failed China policy and the resulting "loss" of that country. He had believed Chiang headed a serious and popular government and that the Chinese communists were "agrarian reformers" and thus that he was not dealing with irreconcilable parties.[27] In that case the American policy of supporting Chiang while encouraging concessions would not have exacerbated a deteriorating situation but rather represented a sound and cautious approach.

Bureaucratic Planning

During the president's first week in office, the secretaries of state, war, and navy submitted a planning document on trusteeship at a meeting with the president. The management of territories to be taken from Japan and European colonies in Asia had, like the question of treatment of postwar Germany and Japan, remained unsettled because of Roosevelt's indecision on the topic. However, the recommendations were presented to Truman as the "result of many conferences between the three Departments and had now been approved by all." Faced with the consensus of his advisers and an obligation to preexisting policy, Truman signed his approval of the recommended policy without further discussion.[28] While the question of partitioning Japan's possessions would remain uncertain even after surrender, the legal status of the territories was finally settled. Thus, in the name of continuity, Truman made a commitment to policy that Roosevelt had actively avoided.

Days after Roosevelt's death, planners drafted a new document to replace PWC 108 as the most up-to-date summary of Japan planning. This document, called SWNCC 150, would be revised several times over the summer before being sent to MacArthur to guide occupation policy and being released to the public in the fall.[29] Like PWC 108 before it, the catalyst for SWNCC 150 was a War Department request for approved policy on which to base its military plans for the occupation. In response to the Civil Affairs Division's call for a short policy statement of recommendations approved by the president, a summary of SWNCC 150 was sent over by the interagency planning group on June 23. The statement contained the main objectives described in chapter 2 of this work, including an economic section laying out the SFE's approach to financial issues. The occupation administration would manage public services, commodities, and imports in Japan in order to prevent starvation, disease, and civil unrest. This would maintain order and make achieving the goals of occupation easier. Because this position had been criticized as soft in high-level discussions of PWC 108, in SWNCC 150 the recommendation was toughened with the stipulation that the Allies would not help raise the standard of living in Japan above that of its neighbors during the occupation period.

During his lifetime, Roosevelt had at best an ambivalent attitude toward the peace plans developed by the bureaucratic planners. At times, as with his adoption and extension of the Morgenthau plan in 1944, his support for tough treatment of ordinary Japanese and Germans, and his opposition to maintaining heavy industry in defeated Axis economies, his approach was in direct opposition to the corpus of SFE work. Truman's presidency and the acceptance of existing plans legitimized that branch of planning and the ideas of the State Department's Far East experts.[30] By the end of June, officials were able to disseminate

the goals of those planners as recommendations approved by SWNCC and the president. However, the first drafts of final occupation policy were left intentionally ambiguous on two questions that had not yet been decided at higher levels: unconditional surrender and the status of Japan's government and emperor.[31]

As the summer progressed, Truman began to replace Roosevelt-era advisers. These personnel changes demonstrated his growing confidence as a leader but also left incumbent officials uncertain of their positions. Truman selected James Byrnes to replace Edward Stettinius as secretary of state. Roosevelt had also considered Byrnes for the post but had opted for Stettinius because of Byrnes's domineering personality. Truman's administrative style was quite different from Roosevelt's, and he was less concerned with challenges to his authority. Because Truman had no vice president, the secretary of state would be next in line to become president should Truman die in office. Although a strong-willed and even arrogant figure, Byrnes was well informed and had connections within Congress, making him a better presidential successor than Stettinius would have been.[32] The decision to replace Stettinius had important repercussions in the State Department. Byrnes announced that he would not discuss personnel changes until after an upcoming Allied conference at Potsdam, and as a result the under and assistant secretaries in Washington did not know who would remain in office or for how long.[33]

Terms of Surrender

As Japan's position weakened between May and July, a passionate debate arose about the terms of the country's surrender. At the heart of the issue were two questions. Would the Japanese government continue to exist and retain authority after surrender? And would Japan be allowed to keep its emperor? Both of these questions fell under the category of "unconditional surrender." It was generally believed that the Japanese leadership and ordinary people would be far more likely to accept defeat if allowed to retain their emperor. An early, peaceful end of the war would save thousands of lives. But because ultranationalist radicals had focused on fanatical devotion to the emperor in the 1930s, allowing the institution to remain would leave in place a rallying point for potential future militarism. Conditional surrender also ran counter to Roosevelt's public statements and popular opinion.[34] In 1944, members of the military had advocated a conditional surrender for Germany to speed the end of that conflict, which Roosevelt roundly rejected.[35] However, the appeal of conditional surrender was greater in the Pacific theater, where the alternative was an invasion of Japan that would cost perhaps hundreds of thousands of lives. The military spent the spring and summer of 1945 developing army and navy invasion plans to force surrender, as well as a plan to occupy the country quickly in case of government collapse and

chaos.[36] All these plans required staggering manpower to secure territory and respond to widespread resistance from Japanese soldiers and civilians.

In late May Eugene Dooman wrote a first draft conditional surrender document at the request of Grew, who wanted to allow for emperor retention.[37] War Department figures Stimson and John McCloy agreed with Grew, telling Truman "we ought to have our heads examined if we do not seek a political end to the war before an invasion."[38] Byrnes too supported an early end to the war, hoping to avoid Soviet entry.[39] Former president Herbert Hoover added his voice to the chorus in a letter to Truman, writing that an unconditional surrender would not be worth the "500,000 to 100,000 American lives" which would be lost in a long invasion campaign.[40] Truman considered this letter and sent it to Stimson for comment.

Focusing his efforts on the legislative branch, Henry Luce also began a quiet campaign to end the war quickly. Such was his influence that he was able to arrange private meetings with more than a third of the members of the US Senate in July 1945. He encouraged the politicians to accept a negotiated rather than an unconditional surrender in the Pacific. This position is perhaps surprising for a man whose commitment to Asia centered on China, but Luce, with his missionary and humanitarian impulses, believed that saving lives through an early peace was worth the cost of compromise.[41]

Incoming secretary of state Byrnes, influenced by the advice of Acheson and MacLeish, did not believe a quick peace was worth the potentially dangerous move of allowing the emperor to remain. Without utter defeat and total surrender, these men argued, "Japanese Jingos and industrial expansionists" would reemerge. "However useful the emperor may be to us now," MacLeish cautioned, "he may be a source of the greatest danger a generation from now."[42] Further, an offer of conditional surrender might make the Allies look war weary and eager for peace, which could backfire and actually prolong the war by bolstering Japan's hardliners. Unconditional surrender would also offer a stronger legal justification for the kind of transformative occupation the planners envisioned, clearly transferring sovereignty to the Allies for the duration of occupation.[43] Given the lack of consensus on the issue, and in light of ongoing military campaigns in late spring, the question was delayed until the Potsdam conference in July.[44] In the event, Japan's resistance was cut short by the use of a new and terrible weapon, mooting the need for conditional surrender.

The Last Days of War

In mid-July the Allied leaders met again, this time in Potsdam, Germany. Much of the conference was focused on managing the occupation and postwar issues

on Germany, and, as at Cairo, the Soviet Union was still a neutral in the Pacific theater. At this conference, China, the United States, and Great Britain released a public statement demanding the surrender of Japan. While the Potsdam Declaration was considered a call for unconditional surrender and was a final chance before unleashing the secret new atom bomb, it did make Allied commitments to Japan. The declaration announced that the occupation would not be punitive, promising "stern justice" for war criminals but peaceful lives and the promotion of democratic freedoms for Japanese citizens.[45] By stating that the Japanese government would be responsible for removing obstacles toward freedoms, the Potsdam Declaration implied that the government would continue to exist after surrender and during the occupation, taking orders from the Allied occupiers. The SWNCC planners had long expected that the occupation would use Japanese institutions because the lack of specialists with Japanese language skills would make direct rule impossible. Once the Potsdam Declaration confirmed Truman's support and publicly committed the United States to that course of action, it could be codified in future policy drafts.

The Bomb

From early summer, Truman struggled between the use of concessions, land invasion, and conventional or atomic bombs to force Japan's surrender.[46] Because of nuclear secrecy, a decision on the A-bomb had to be made without consulting the area specialists who had been involved in planning for postwar Japan. Joseph Grew, as acting secretary of state in June, was the only Japan expert in the government who was informed about the bomb before its use.[47] Cabinet-level officials hoped to use the bomb to force surrender with limited impact on Japan's national consciousness. Despite the devastation wrought by atomic bombing, the decision to use the weapon was made within the context of a war marked by aerial bombing of civilian populations in Europe and Asia. Many more Japanese died in conventional fire bombings during the war than in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[48]

At the Potsdam conference the president and his secretary of war agreed that America needed to be careful in selecting targets for its use of atomic weapons. This was necessary to avoid lingering "bitterness" that would prevent Japan from accepting the United States as a sympathetic presence in East Asia after the war.[49] The decision was made without full understanding of the horrible effects of the weapon. Truman, Brynes, Stimson, and others were unaware of the potential for lingering radiation sickness and evaluated the use of atom bombs within the context of regular conventional firebombing of Japanese cities.[50] Thus the need for vengeance or technical demonstration, if it existed, was balanced by both

humanitarian concerns and the desire to gain Japan's cooperation in the postwar period.

Truman's decision to use atomic weapons against Japanese cities, a still-controversial event unique in human history, has come to dominate judgment of his wartime thinking about Japan. A key argument in condemning Truman's decision has been that the bombs were unnecessary because Japan was near collapse and would have surrendered to reasonable terms without further force.[51] One book on the end of the war in Asia postulates that despite the alternative courses of action available, Truman believed use of the bomb was a just revenge on the Japanese.[52] A more common argument is that the bombs were used not out of military necessity to end the war but to send a message to the Soviet Union. According to this theory, two cities and 140,000 Japanese were sacrificed merely to intimidate a wartime ally.[53] These arguments share an assumption of disregard for enemy lives and are supported by the willingness of Truman and others to use harsh and dehumanizing rhetoric against the Japanese during the war.[54] Though examples of hate speech abound, these do not indicate that the president lacked respect or concern for Japanese lives or that he supported collective punishment of the Japanese people for their government's initiation of war.

In his diary, Truman fretted about the implications of modern warfare for humanity. "I fear," he wrote, "that machines are ahead of morals by some centuries and when morals catch up perhaps there'll be no reason for any of it."[55] On using atomic weapons he explained, "My object is to save as many American lives as possible but I also have a humane feeling for the women and children in Japan."[56] Despite the continuing debate about the decision to use atomic weapons, given the brutal nature of the war and the expectation that Japan would continue to fight, there is every reason to accept Truman's own contemporary explanation. He hoped that the new weapon would save lives on both sides by ending the war quickly.[57]

Such consideration for Japanese life was outside the mainstream of the American public, a large portion of which harbored deep resentment and even hatred for the Japanese. In the wake of Hiroshima, one senator, Richard Russell, wrote to Truman to ask that in retribution for Pearl Harbor the atomic bombings continue until the Japanese were "brought grovelling to their knees." In his reply, Truman appealed to Russell's higher instincts by remarking that even if the Japanese were "beasts," the Americans need not be. In the same letter, Truman expressed his opinion on the question of collective punishment in Japan's case. He regretted the necessity of "wiping out whole populations" because of their leader's "pigheadedness."[58] However, Truman also rejected requests for a short truce following the first atomic bomb to give Japan time to surrender. On August 8, Henry Luce and Congressman Joseph Kennedy met with Truman on

the subject but failed to persuade the president.[59] A second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki the following day.

Many ordinary Americans were more closely aligned to Senator Russell's thinking than to that of Luce, Kennedy, or Truman. In December 1945, 22.7 percent of Americans polled for a *Fortune* survey reported wishing that the United States had dropped "many more of them [atomic bombs] before the Japanese had a chance to surrender."[60] Such sentiments reveal the rage that lingered in the popular consciousness even months after the war ended.

Final Planning

This study has examined the significant interagency coordination in wartime planning, recognizing that the groups had different aims and concerns. By 1945, the army's Civil Affairs Division had taken the lead in the military side of planning for the occupation. Such planning was dominated by the immediate practical concerns of invasion and establishing a military government. Army reports provided remarkably fine-grained detail, including maps of possible invasion landing areas, locations of rivers and water supplies, and lists of important roadways and infrastructure.[61] Operation Blacklist, a military plan for immediate occupation in case of sudden surrender or collapse, stressed the importance of meeting critical civilian needs in occupied areas. It assumed that "at best the civil population of JAPAN proper will observe an attitude of non-cooperation" and that insurgence and sabotage were likely. In that case, the report suggested that forces use group sanctions and reprisals if they were unable to identify individual offenders.[62] Such actions were not prohibited by international law until the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.[63]

Political strategists in the SFE were not involved in plans for invasion and military operations, and political grand strategy and war aims are of little practical value to military planners. At higher levels, military planners were more leery of long-term commitments than were their civilian counterparts. The chief of staff to the commander in chief, Admiral William Leahy, advised Truman that "if Japan is to be governed by a force of occupation, the number of American officers and troops should be kept to the lowest possible number in order to save cost and get American troops home at the earliest possible date."[64] These concerns were reflected in the final occupation policy documents.

Important changes were made to SWNCC 150 when it was updated in August to include new elements from the Potsdam declaration. The new version clarified that an Allied supreme commander (later known as SCAP) would exercise authority during the occupation through existing Japanese government machinery and agencies, including the emperor, and that American authority would be

FIGURE 6.2. General Douglas MacArthur signs as supreme Allied commander during formal surrender ceremonies on the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. Courtesy of the National Archives, ARC Identifier (National Archives Identifier) 520694.

decisive in cases where the Allies disagreed. Other insertions into the draft were not based in the Potsdam declaration and were radically different from previous policy drafts. Echoing Leahy's concerns, the draft explained that the decision to operate an indirect military government was motivated by "the desire of the United States to attain its objectives with a minimum commitment of time and resources."[65] In economic sections, changes made the Japanese government responsible for resolving financial problems in the devastated nation. It now declared that the Allies would not accept the burden of reconstruction for Japan and committed to extract reparations for the countries damaged by Japanese aggression. These new elements in SWNCC 150/2 represented a toughening of accepted postwar planning aims.

In *What Future for Japan?* Rudolf Janssens speculated that the State Department's Edwin Martin or John McCloy and Herbert Feis at the War Department were likely sources of these radical changes to SWNCC 150.[66] Martin had been part of the SWNCC Far East group and was also active at the Institute of Pacific Relations, which later published his book on the occupation of Japan.[67] This makes him a less likely source of the changes. Given Eiji Takamae's assertion that McCloy was the source of the changed section on political authority and

that the tough peace tone of the new economic insertions was out of line with the State Department's position that a moderate and economically stable Japan was the best hope for future pacification, it is reasonable to assume that McCloy was the source of the "toughening" changes to the draft. A slightly revised new draft was then sent to MacArthur on August 29, signed as SWNCC 150/4 by Truman on September 6, and finalized as SWNCC 150/4 A on September 29. Entitled "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," it became the major source of policy guidance during the occupation.

A second policy document, JCS 1380, began in the SWNCC group as SWNCC 52 and was sent to MacArthur in September. JCS 1380 was a military directive intended to provide SCAP with specific guidance for the occupation in line with the broad political objectives laid out in SWNCC 150.[68] Like SWNCC 150, it was a descendant of PWC 108. It gave the ultimate objective of the occupation as to "foster conditions which will give the greatest possible assurance that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world and will permit her eventual admission as a responsible and peaceful member of the family of nations."[69] The PWC 108 document had described Japan "properly discharging its responsibilities in the family of peaceful nations" and sharing "in the world economy on a reasonable basis."[70] Reflecting military criticism of the impracticability of SWNCC 150, JCS 1380 was detailed and specific. The final version, JSC 1380/15 was sent to Japan in November 1945 and provided the framework of SCAP activity. The directive was parceled out in a "copy and paste" fashion, as a "'how-to' guide for translating . . . principles into action."[71] Paragraphs and sometimes only sentences from the document were assigned to sections at SCAP general headquarters (GHQ) as the basis of operation to division branches. Although there was some room for interpretation, this system ensured that broad policy during the occupation was set by the planners in Washington.

Staff Changes

Grew, Ballantine, and Dooman—the key architects and advocates of SWNCC soft Japan plans, had all left their positions by the fall. State Department experts preferred to leave on their own rather than wait to be "tilted out."[72] Grew remarked to Stettinius that "it is very sad to contemplate the disintegration of the team which you set up and which, by and large, has worked so well together."[73] The new setup was dominated by Byrnes, who accepted little input from the outgoing team.[74] Although Byrnes offered Grew, then sixty-five years old, an adviser position in Japan, he chose to ignore Grew's staff suggestions to assist in the occupation of Japan.[75] The new secretary intentionally bypassed the men who had composed America's postwar policy in favor of fresh personnel, in particular

replacing Japan specialists with generalists and China hands.[76] Dean Acheson, who was chosen to replace Grew, lamented that though he was promoted to a "position which was supposed to be important," he had "no idea of what went on . . . no connection with anything."[77] Positions within the State Department changed hands just as the end of the war was coming into sight. Outside the State Department, the military, soon to be faced with implementing the occupation, became a louder voice in preparing final plans. Theodore Cohen and Dale Hellegers argue that the military "rewrote postwar policy behind the scenes" because of staff changes and vagueness of State's plans.[78] When changes made to SWNCC 150 in August are examined, it is clear that they mattered.

But the impact of staff changes on Japan policy was mitigated by the broad consensus created during the war. PWC and SWNCC recommendations had the support of cabinet members because high-level approval was needed in the drafting process. Truman signed off on the core principles of SWNCC planning in June. Like Roosevelt, the bureaucratic planners, and wartime internationalists, he also believed in the need for a muscular and active America on the international stage. When questioned in a cabinet meeting as to why it was "necessary for the United States to be called upon to police the world," Truman responded that, as courts have marshals, force was necessary to ensure justice internationally.[79] The president's point indicates his support for an expensive and expansive foreign policy, which would be necessary for a long and ambitious occupation.

On August 8 Stimson presented the president with a report on the subject by an assistant to the air forces chief of staff, which argued for soft treatment of the Japanese people in the postwar period. Its key message, Stimson summarized, was "when you punish your dog you don't keep souring on him all day after the punishment is over; if you want to keep his affection, punishment takes care of itself. In the same way with Japan."[80] Truman praised the report, calling it "a good paper." Although it was not written by members of the State Department's area committee, it was similar in tone. The author, new to postwar planning, likely discussed the issues involved in postwar Japan with his friend and roommate, Colonel William Chandler, who was involved in bureaucratic postwar planning as the acting head of the CAD during the summer of 1945.[81] The SFE's ideas were pervasive within the government, the result of years of work.

Allies and Zones of Occupation

The administration expected Allied cooperation in managing postwar Japan. Although American forces were prepared to move into conquered territories immediately and would probably be the only forces in Japan for some time, the Chinese, British, and Russians would assist as soon as possible so that the United

States would not become the sole focus of Japanese ill will.[82] Truman signed his agreement to the "participation of Orientals" in the occupation to avoid the perception of "the war in the Pacific as a racial war and as one designed to spread 'white imperialism' throughout Asia."[83] From June there was consensus on the initial situation, in which the majority of available troops would be American, and the Allies would form a Far Eastern Commission to make recommendations for the American-led occupation command to execute.

There was disagreement between the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the next phase. The JCS argued that since a large portion of American forces would be replaced by Soviet, Chinese, and British troops, Japan ought then to be divided between the Allies into administrative zones.[84] This would respond to calls for demobilization and postwar troop reduction and also avoid the sensitive issue of commanding foreign troops. The State Department jealously guarded American initiative, arguing that the United States "should insist on control of the implementation" in all of Japan.[85] Truman sided with State, guaranteeing the "principle of centralized administration."[86] Roosevelt, who had been a wholehearted advocate of Russian participation in the Pacific war and saw Japan's treatment in terms of Germany's, would likely have sided with the JCS and approved zones of occupation on the German model. Truman's very different decision had a tremendous impact on the country's future. Japan would escape the divided fate of Germany, split for nearly forty-five years into east and west, and Korea, which remains divided even today.

Territories

The transfer of Japan's Kurile Islands to Russia, settled secretly by Roosevelt in February 1945, was revisited in light of Japan's utter defeat at American hands in August. Many members of the Roosevelt administration had expressed skepticism about Soviet entry into the war and the territorial demands that would result. In May, Grew wrote to Stimson explaining the State Department's position on Soviet entry. He wondered if it would be worth "paying" the Russians to engage the Japanese and wanted the Soviet Union to commit to a range of agreements, including supporting the nationalist government over the CCP in China, the positions on Manchuria and Korea laid out in the Cairo Declaration, and guaranteeing America emergency landing rights in the Kurile Islands.[87] State Department Far East experts also recommended that Japan retain at least the southern islands in the Kurile chain and that the Soviets not be granted full sovereignty over the northern islands.

The advent of the atomic bomb and the collapse of Japan in early August negated the value of Soviet assistance in the war effort, although the Soviet Union

joined the conflict days before Japan's surrender and would be involved in postwar occupations, managing pockets of resistance, and repatriation issues. In light of this change, McCloy suggested to Byrnes that the Americans ought to occupy the Kuriles themselves. The island chain was located along the "great circle route" of air travel between Shanghai and Seattle so would be a useful place to have an airfield. Although Byrnes responded by reaffirming Roosevelt's commitment to Russia, the next day he instructed the navy to occupy some of the south Kuriles, and McCloy requested that the SWNCC consider which of the islands would be useful as an American airbase. Stalin responded by demanding that the Kuriles fall within a Soviet occupation zone and roundly rejected Truman's compromise position granting American air bases and landing rights there. Given the Russian response, Byrnes agreed to postpone discussion of American use of the islands but stated that any transfer of sovereignty from Japan to Russia would not be final until a peace treaty was agreed on.[88] The Russians did not sign the peace treaty when it was completed in the 1950s, and Japan would later dispute the legality of Soviet occupation. At the time, control of the islands was a matter of prestige and fishing rights. Today natural gas reserves add to their value.[89] Roosevelt's secret commitment and the Truman administration's eleventh-hour vacillation created an issue of contention that still lingers.

Other Planning Groups

The policy-planning activities of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the Institute of Pacific Relations slowed down as the wartime period drew to a close. The CFR's WPS program disbanded its territorial section (T-group) in January, stating that the work was complete, and terminated the entire program in September.[90] It did continue running its study groups to bring together officials and outside experts in "thinking spaces."[91] The IPR hosted its last international conference concerning Japan in January 1945. Its postwar influence was limited by a scandal that engulfed an associated publication, *Amerasia* (discussed in chapter 4), and tarnished the organization's reputation with accusations of espionage and communist sympathies. However, the networks created by think tanks like the CFR and the IPR during the war had a lasting impact on the postwar environment, as alumni of wartime planning maintained connections or took on positions during the occupation.

Opinion leaders participated after the war as they had in wartime through popular and specialist publications. William Johnstone, an academic who had been involved in postwar planning through his organization of IPR conferences in Washington, published a monograph summarizing his recommendations for

pacifying postwar Japan. Johnstone's primary argument supported the underpinning idea of SWNCC planning: in the long run a hard peace imposed from outside was not sustainable. "Japan's future," he wrote "must be considered in terms of those reforms needed to give the Japanese people opportunities to profit by peace."[92] The book, published by an academic press, was intended for a specialist audience, but another active IPR member helped it reach the general public through a *New York Times* review. T. A. Bisson recommended the book to general readers and echoed Johnson's support for "drastic and fundamental political, economic, and social reforms" in Japan.[93]

From the State Department, Grew worked to secure his protégés positions in the occupation. While his efforts in the case of Eugene Dooman were ultimately ineffective, Robert Fearey went on to play an important role in land reform as part of the occupation administration.[94] Fearey had introduced the issue into wartime planning, arguing that a more equitable distribution of wealth would promote the long-term stability of Japan. He later raised the idea in Tokyo and used his SFE drafts on the subject as the basis of occupation land reform policy.[95]

As during the war, official and unofficial experts continued to move between the government and key think tanks. After the war John McCloy, who had amended SWNCC150/2 from the War Department, became a trustee at the Rockefeller Foundation and later chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations itself. Retired major general Frank R. McCoy had been a member of the CFR Far East study group along with Blakeslee, Hornbeck, Luce, and Stimson during the war. He became the American representative and chairman of the Far Eastern Commission, which was tasked with advising the occupation administration. Through such appointments, the influence of wartime official and unofficial networks and individual planners continued.

Congress

Although the body had been effectively sidelined by Roosevelt during the war, Congress still held the power to derail wartime plans. Its approval was needed to pass budgets and ratify treaties, and, unlike bureaucrats and area experts, congressmen were accountable to the mood of a deeply skeptical public. Grew wrote of the early occupation that "a radical operation must be performed in that misguided country [Japan], but it is a great mistake to rush the surgeon."[96] Congress would be the most likely source of such a rush. In light of popular anti-Japanese sentiment, calls from former isolationists to limit the aims of the occupation and the scope of postwar commitments, and "clamor on the home front for ultra-rapid demobilization" of the army, the body was skeptical of a lengthy, ambitious, and expensive occupation.[97]

Senate confirmation hearings for Dean Acheson's promotion to undersecretary of state provided an opportunity for critics of Japan policy to voice their concerns. Republican senator Kenneth Wherry led the protest. Wherry wrote to Acheson before the hearing, demanding to know if he was a "hatchet man" for the administration or if he personally supported Japan policy. "I am not," Wherry told his colleagues, "for starting any revolution in Japan which will involve the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of American boys."[98] Robert Taft, also a Republican, called Acheson's summary of SWNCC 150 "one of the most extraordinary statements on policy I have ever heard." It was not a compliment. "How," he wondered aloud, did the administration think it could "change the social system of another country?" The worried chief of staff Marshall wrote to General MacArthur in Japan warning him to handle press relations carefully "in the midst of a highly explosive Congressional situation which may jeopardize an orderly occupation."[99] The Senate recognized the need to demobilize Japan, but some argued planners had gone too far.

The extent to which the legislature had been bypassed in the planning process was an additional concern. The outlines of SWNCC planning were familiar across the administration and to unofficial planners working in well-connected think tanks. However, the connections between these groups and Congress were limited. Wherry first read the broad outlines of Japan policy in a newspaper in September and described himself as "shocked." Even Tom Connally, head of the Senate Foreign Relations and an internationalist who defended the plans at Acheson's confirmation hearing, claimed to have been unaware about policy development. He emphatically stated, "I have not talked to the administration about this matter at all." While Connally appeared untroubled by the slight, the issue was deeply problematic for Wherry, who pointed out that the Senate was charged to advise and consent on policy matters. "I have a right as a Member of this body," he said, "to know what the policy is."[100] Wherry and other members of Congress resented being kept in the dark about wartime plans until they were made public. In order to strengthen State Department-Senate relations, Byrnes began to meet with the Foreign Relations Committee on a biweekly basis from November.[101]

Despite these concerns, there was considerable support for the administration's plans in Congress, particularly among Democrats. Winning the war had been a struggle, but many believed it would be as costly and difficult to win the peace. As expressed in the House on the day of Germany's defeat, "We cannot be selfish and maintain a lasting peace."[102] Connally shared the bureaucratic planners' view that sweeping changes would be needed to keep Japan from rearming in the future. "If it requires the destruction of these hard groups of industrial czars and social magnates to [dislodge Japanese militarism]," the senator declared, "I am willing to do it." Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois agreed. "If the

social and economic orders are not changed, we can get ready for another war. If they are not changed, we have fought this war in vain."[103] Such statements show support for the audacious plans developed by the IDAFE group during the war. Wherry's motion to reconsider the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations' approval of Acheson was rejected. Critics were unable to get enough traction to further disrupt the process, Acheson was approved for his new position, and the matter was dropped.

New Actors during Implementation

The start of the occupation brought a new group into Japan policy—Americans on the ground.[104] Officials and administrators were tasked with turning Washington plans into Japan's reality. Americans arriving in occupied Japan were shocked at the damage wrought by years of war and especially by American aerial bombing. One language specialist, who had spent his childhood in Japan, recalled simply that "Tokyo was smashed."[105] Another described Japan as "totally and utterly decimated . . . helpless and hopeless." Although many of the Americans in Tokyo came filled with hostility for a recent enemy, witnessing starvation and destruction quickly softened opinion.[106] Military officers soon realized that the "small, thin and weak" civilian population was "in desperate need of everything." Despite the chaos and desperation of the country, many young officers were enthusiastic about the implications of their work. "The job was exciting. The era was like the Meiji restoration. Everybody was trying everything. Then it was modernization, westernization, now it was democratization, Americanization." [107] Although some enthusiastic men on the ground saw "Americanization" and reform in Japan in terms of far left politics, the policies had quite different aims. Economic links, wealth redistribution, and social reforms were intended to neutralize Japanese militarism and create a body of ordinary Japanese with an interest in the status quo.

The realities on the ground, observations of arriving officers, and expectations of the wartime planners did not always match. Maxwell Bishop, a "Japan hand," was sent to the Office of the Political Advisor in Tokyo. Bishop had been involved in postwar planning but was not a member of Grew's inner circle. Grew had politely rebuffed his appeal for aid in finding a post in the occupation administration, but, as one of a limited number of Japan experts, he was able to secure himself a position there.[108] He recalled that in the chaos of the early occupation "there was a feeling that 'we' occupiers didn't know what American policy in Japan was to be."[109] A September 1945 *New York Times* article noted "serious concern . . . that our basic policies for the rule of conquered countries are by no means as firmly formulated as they should be." However, as the author conceded,

the unified and American-led administration in Japan made that situation less complicated than the German case.[110] This problem was compounded by the sense that General MacArthur, designated as the supreme commander for the Allied powers, had taken control of Japan policy from Washington.[111] The general, described by Truman as "Mr. Prima Donna, Brass Hat, Five Star MacArthur" perpetuated this myth, which persisted long after the end of the occupation.[112]

As the leading figure on the ground, MacArthur certainly had a great deal of influence in carrying out policy. He had been slated for command of the military government of Japan in May 1945 and began to select his staff then.[113] Because of the important role MacArthur would play after surrender, Marshall solicited his views on occupation administration in July.[114] However, MacArthur was skeptical of wartime planning, writing about the case of the Philippines that it was "both unwise and impracticable in the midst of the Pacific War to attempt to prepare an able postwar plan of inflexible form."[115] Area experts were naturally interested in understanding and influencing MacArthur ahead of the occupation. Grew, unable to place his protégé Eugene Dooman in as the State Department's political adviser in Japan, wrote to MacArthur recommending the general consider Dooman when he needed advice.[116] Former ambassador Cameron Forbes wrote a letter to MacArthur setting out his own thoughts on Japan, which was sent to McCoy and from there on to Grew and other Japan hands.[117]

The similarity between MacArthur's ideas and the bureaucratic plans made what was actually Washington policy appear to be MacArthur's own initiatives. His presurrender statements about the Philippines, where he had served as military adviser, indicate an affinity with the sorts of ideas expressed by the SFE group. On a fundamental level, MacArthur had been involved in American imperialism in East Asia, and he believed in American tutelage as a path to progress. His father had been governor general of the Philippines shortly after the Spanish-American war, and MacArthur himself had served as military adviser to the Philippines in the 1930s as it prepared for independence. In particular, he supported redistribution of wealth as a means of stabilizing an independent Philippines after America withdrew. In parallel with Japan planning, MacArthur argued that America ought to ensure that "the old economy whereby a small wealthy group dominated the country and exploited the common people would not be reestablished" in the postcolonial period.[118]

MacArthur's religious language appears divergent from Washington policy at first glance. He spoke of the occupation as a religious mission to fill a "spiritual vacuum" in Japan.[119] Government plans were not explicitly religious in character. However, many American officials and opinion leaders involved in wartime planning came from and were informed by a Christian missionary background. John Foster Dulles, the future secretary of state, was involved in wartime planning

through his role at the Council of World Churches.[120] On VE day representatives prayed on the congressional floor for "the early defeat of Japan and the establishment of peace and a just world social order, based on the moral law of God."[121] In 1947 Joseph Grew and others raised funds to open a Christian university in Japan in order to strengthen the moral character of the nation through the introduction of Christian values. MacArthur's rhetoric is in line with the significant if unspoken place for religion in American foreign policy.

Because staff in Tokyo had a better sense of the changing situation in Japan during the occupation, MacArthur took the view that further input from Washington on the details of the occupation were unnecessary.[122] SCAP therefore resisted challenges to its authority and insisted on controlling the communication between the State Department's Office of the Political Advisor in Tokyo and officials in Washington.[123] As a result of distance and limited communications, policy men in the State Department were poorly informed about the situation in Japan and were left to assume that MacArthur's staff was following the policies laid down by Washington.[124] This created a significant amount of agency slack for local officials to interpret policy. However, SCAP was publicly committed to SWNCC 150 policy, and its organization had been structured specifically to carry out the secret JCS 1380 directive, both the products of wartime planning.

The course of America's Japan policy was finally set between April and September of 1945. Harry Truman needed continuity because he had not been elected to his new position and was not sure of the public support that Roosevelt could always rely on. Truman's experience developing the congressional B2H2 campaign indicates his support for international cooperation. His reflections on the atom bomb, interest in international history, and personal diary from the early presidency indicate a greater openness and human concern for ordinary people, whatever their nationality, than he is sometimes given credit for. Unlike Roosevelt, who privately fostered his own plans for a tougher peace, Truman was inclined to accept the plans drafted by area experts. SWNCC recommendations could be presented to Truman as existing policy because they had the approval of the heads of the three most important departments for foreign policy. Ironically, Truman's desire for continuity drove the adoption of policies that, while not new and certainly not unfamiliar to Roosevelt, were nevertheless far from his thinking on the subject.

Although the SWNCC plans were elevated to become the main source of policy after Roosevelt's death, the transition and events of the summer altered existing plans. Staff changes made by Truman disrupted the established system and put entrenched officials, including the core members of the SFE group, in a precarious position until they resigned. At the same time, the military began to take a more active role in combining political and military planning, which

toughened economic policies and limited American commitments toward a new Japan. The altered plans stated that the Americans would not help rebuild or support Japan's economy. The SFE group had agreed in 1944 that "no people could be expected to become peace-loving and democratic unless they were assured of an economy adequate to support a democratic way of life" and that reliance on international trade would convince the Japanese that peace was in their interest.[125] This remained a cornerstone of Japan policy. The August changes therefore created tension between opposing economic policies. One supported prosperity and trade as an incentive to peace, and the other rejected the costs of reconstruction and the possibility that aggressor Japan might again become wealthier than its neighbors.

One contentious issue, whether occupied Japan ought to be divided into zones or remain whole under American-dominated administration, was resolved in accordance with the recommendations of the SFE group. Other changes diverged from previous Japan planning. Before August 1945, area experts had long advocated the retention of the southern Kurile Islands by Japan, while Roosevelt had promised the whole chain to the Russians in return for their entry into the Pacific war. However, after Japan's sudden surrender, Byrnes and McCloy considered American use of the territories, encountered Russian resistance, and left the matter unsettled. This change would cause later friction.

The activities of the official and unofficial planning groups changed once wartime planning was completed. Although the January IPR conference was useful in creating a consensus between Allied nations, and the influential WPS project continued into autumn, the role of think tanks had been most pronounced in the early war period before the broad outlines of policy were set. The most durable legacy of these groups was the creation of personal and professional networks connecting the experts and officials who revolved between official and unofficial policymaking groups. Meanwhile, Congress, confronted with policy aims made public, continued its nonobstructionist role. Some voices within the body protested the sweeping aims of Japan policy, the required cost in manpower and money, and lack of congressional consultation during the long planning process. The majority, however, were willing to go along with the administration's plans, particularly as the occupation had already begun. Congress, whose approval was needed for treaties and spending, did not derail American policy in Japan.

American officials on the ground in Japan, a new group charged with administering policy, were left in some uncertainty in the early phase of the occupation. SWNCC 150 and even the more detailed and specific JCS 1380 were focused on broad aims and general guidance rather than on the specific mechanics of administration. Certainly, there was space for new administrators to misinterpret the intentions behind the instructions they received in September and October.

The sense of confusion was heightened by Douglas MacArthur, who blurred the line between official policy and his own ideas. However, given the broad affinity of thinking between MacArthur and the wartime planners, this practice was not as disruptive as it might otherwise have been.

Wartime planning for Japan, which had roots in government-think tank dialogue even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, was finalized in the volatile summer of 1945. Policies were set out in SWNCC 150/4 and JCS 1380/15 but also and more importantly in the broad consensus that emerged on the ultimate goals of occupation and reorienting Japan. There was widespread agreement about what the "new Japan" should be like and what its place should be in the international community and, broadly, on how to make these changes happen. Four years into the occupation, the Far Eastern Commission, headed by a CFR study group veteran, stated the general American objective as the creation of "a Japan, peaceful, democratic according to western standards, internationally cooperative, economically stable and prosperous, and, if possible, friendly to the United States."[126] The outlines of SFE wartime planning for Japan proved durable, even against the realities of occupation and global changes in the postwar world. The summer of 1945 was a period of change. As America and Japan moved from war to its aftermath, postwar plans transformed from ideas into action.

Conclusion

THE BEST-LAID PLANS OF MICE AND MEN

This book acts as a prologue to occupation histories, but it also challenges their narratives. In popular memory General Douglas MacArthur shaped the occupation. He was a charismatic and important figure, but his orders came from Washington. Major academic works, which do not examine prewar planning in detail, miss policy continuity. As a result, classic histories overemphasize the impact of the Cold War and the power of young New Dealers in the early occupation.[1] Orthodox accounts of the occupation describe a "reverse course," in which a liberal and idealistic early phase was abandoned in 1947 in favor of calculated American interests to rebuild Japan as an ally in the nascent Cold War. Historians are beginning to move away from this periodization. Eiji Takamae described a "shift" rather than a "volte-face" in his seminal work *Inside GHQ*.[2] This needs to be taken this further. A comprehensive framework and set of goals were created during the war, and these remained in place throughout the occupation.

Planning for the future is tricky. The disarmament of Japan was intended to take place in a stable region underpinned by international cooperation. That did not happen. Repressing Japan's military and economic strength, a major goal of the occupation, became irrelevant in light of the devastation of Japanese agriculture and industry and the cooperation of the Japanese people. Later changes in economic policy, which moved away from reparations and the breakup of monopolistic corporations, must be understood in the context of Japan's inability to meet even the minimum requirements of its desperate population in the first year of occupation. Even as Japan began to seem less like a dangerous enemy, new problems were arising between America and its allies. China, which had

been expected to take a large role in the occupation and a new regional order, teetered on the verge of civil war. Relations with Russia became increasingly difficult. These factors led to the rapid end of the first, "tough" phase of the occupation and to significant policy changes.

Wartime planning remained important in these tumultuous times. Well-thought-out policy helped smooth the early implementation phase of the occupation and gave officials a common vision when revising and adapting plans to meet unforeseen challenges. The planning process created professional and social networks among elites with an interest in Asia. Many of these elites went on to work in the occupation administration in Tokyo and in Washington. In their new positions these men could rely on network relationships and mental maps created in the planning period. The wartime activities of government agencies and think tanks also increased what had been a very shallow pool of information on Japan available in English, allowing for more nuanced and informed policy in the future. Most important, the pressing questions asked at the outbreak of war were answered in the planning period. How could future Japanese militarism be prevented? What future for Japan would best serve American interests? The answers to these questions proved durable even as the situation on the ground changed.

A ship in a storm may need to adjust the charted course in order to reach its destination. That is not reversing course—it is navigation. In the same way, the midoccupation changes did not represent a shift in American aims in postwar Japan, only the need for different strategies to accomplish those goals in light of unexpected developments. The ideas expressed in SWNCC 150 had wide support across the government, were made public at the start of occupation, provided the structure of GHQ, and were reaffirmed by the Far Eastern Commission in 1949. The objective for Japan four years into the occupation was still that it be "peaceful, democratic according to Western standards, internationally cooperative, economically stable and prosperous, and, if possible, friendly to the United States."[3] The work of wartime planners created a pattern for Japan's new place in the international system and continued to define American aims for Japan long after the war ended.

SFE plans have been criticized as abstract and useless policy documents, filled with "truisms that could have been lifted from a junior high civics text."[4] But this misses the point of long-range political planning. SWNCC 150 described the broad aims of the occupation and the goals of US foreign policy on Japan. This document was provided to military planners and later to occupiers on the ground as a broad vision, to be focused and adjusted to specific situations as they emerged. Planners did not prepare for every possible eventuality, and they could not have. Instead, wartime plans were used as guiding principles to direct

the thousands of quick decisions in specific circumstances that could never be fully anticipated.

The Limits of Planning

Military planners prepared for a bloody invasion of mainland Japan and a long period of insurgency, neither of which took place. The Joint War Plans Committee reported in late June that "the trend of the war indicated that there will not be an abrupt transition from war to peace. Armed forces . . . will probably be required to extinguish resistance throughout large areas before an occupation phase can commence."[5] The atomic bombs and early surrender of Japan made invasion unnecessary. The committee then warned that once an occupation began, "suicidal elements" of armed Japanese would likely take advantage of the occupiers' comparatively small numbers in the densely populated country.[6]

After surrender, high-ranking American officials arriving in Japan moved to more remote Kamakura until the security situation in the capital became clear. Within two weeks, general headquarters was based in Tokyo and reported that current troop numbers were "plenty" to maintain order there. General MacArthur felt the environment was safe enough to send for his wife and son to join him.[7] The degree to which the Japanese, from ordinary citizens to the emperor, cooperated with occupation forces was a surprise.

Occupiers did expect to find significant war damage when they entered Japan. Some, especially those who had served with MacArthur in the newly liberated Philippines that summer, were familiar with urban postcombat areas. A member of MacArthur's staff wrote in his diary that he expected to find "a city considerably devastated by war with the remaining population under poor control, the public parks filled with homeless, and all suburban areas jammed with refugees."[8] These assumptions were soon confirmed. An early situation report from Tokyo noted that the machinery that had produced goods for export, and even basic items like telephones, had been converted into scrap for war production. Huge quantities of food would be needed to maintain the barest subsistence of the population. Given the current conditions, MacArthur warned that the Japanese could become an albatross around the neck of the United States.

Devastation was expected in the immediate aftermath of war, but Japan's slow recovery, enduring food scarcity, and new regional crises were not. These unexpected developments required a shift in policy to achieve existing aims. Economic discussions during the war had focused on redistributing wealth to inoculate the country against radicalism, and officials debated the level of industry that would meet the basic needs of Japan's population without allowing it to

covertly rearm. Americans simply did not expect that Japan would be unable to feed itself for an extended period after the war. Changes made to SWNCC 150 in August made the plan tougher by moving responsibility for civilian needs and reconstruction from the occupiers to the Japanese government. But Japan could not handle the burden.

The food crisis continued to be the starkest indicator of Japan's struggle throughout the early occupation.[9] In spring 1946, the Japanese ration diet was less than one thousand calories a day, and civilians were left to supplement this on the black market.[10] People were "literally starving to death." They climbed into trains through smashed-out windows in order to reach the countryside and attempt to barter with farmers.[11] Japanese exports could not be used to balance the import needs of occupied Japan. Because most production machinery had been destroyed and silk reserves were damaged by prolonged storage, Japan did not generate a single dollar of exchange through the export of goods in the first ten months of occupation.[12]

In a cabinet-level discussion, the secretary of war highlighted the impact of the crisis in Japan on US interests in the country. He noted that America was responsible for preventing famine in Japan, and failure to do so would undermine the goals of the occupation and damage American prestige abroad. The grim alternative would be to send more troops to keep order among a starving and desperate population.[13] Counter to late SWNCC 150 policy, the cost of food, textiles, and other goods imported to Japan was by necessity borne by the United States. A year later, the occupation of Korea was creating two rival governments on the course to war, Nationalist China was losing its civil war, and the Soviet Union, recently an ally, now seemed the greatest threat to American security. Realities on the ground were different from the assumptions made in wartime.

Men and Ideas

An informal policy network emerged during the war to answer planning questions. Members of this network were mainly wealthy and educated East Coast American men, bound together by school ties and social circles. Many, from members of the Council on Foreign Relations to President Roosevelt, had made or inherited wealth from trade with Asia. Even when they argued, their shared backgrounds led to striking commonalities in assumption and approach. Across the State Department, Congress, the presidency, and internationalist think tanks, planners envisioned a new international system to replace European imperialism with unfettered trade access and international organizations. The idea of free trade as an alternative to empire and rivalry was not new in American ideology;

it had been the rationale behind American support for the Open Door policy in China. Events of the 1930s gave the idea greater urgency.

To many American elites, the collapse of international trade following the Great Depression had led to economic nationalism as countries competed to secure access to markets and materials in a world marked by scarcity. This, they believed, had created new international rivalries and fueled radicalism, leading to Axis military aggression and the present war. Planners accepted the argument that Japanese expansionism had been caused by economic necessity and the requirements of an increasing population. They agreed that trade access would solve the problems that had led to Japan's aggression. Many officials were sympathetic to the New Deal idea that progressive distribution policies could ease economic crises and provide an alternative to extremism. Veteran diplomats like Joseph Grew argued that Japanese prewar pro-Western liberal elites could lead the necessary reforms once American occupiers had gone.

Eugene Dooman explained that the central question in postwar planning was how to "fit Japan for future international cooperation."[14] Any plans would have to be accepted by the Japanese themselves to succeed in the long term because imposed conditions could not be enforced indefinitely. Specialist planners imagined a new demilitarized and internationalist Japan. It would be stabilized at home by redistributing land and breaking up big business and would be tied to international cooperation by its reliance on trade. Postwar Japan, as a friendly government with responsibilities in a family of nations, would support American policies and initiatives in the region. This would be a radical departure from the intellectual currents of Japanese foreign policy in the 1930s, which had set Japan in a leadership role against Western influence in Asia and challenged the hypocrisy of American rhetoric and actions abroad.

The aims and methods of the occupation were broad and radical. Americans would fundamentally alter Japan's education system, media, state religion, government structure, corporate structures, and agricultural land ownership. This daunting task would be carried out through a short and minimally staffed military occupation, led by a country that was dramatically culturally and linguistically different from Japan and that had few skilled area specialists. Occupation planners hoped to make up for this deficiency by working through the existing Japanese government to carry out reforms. This approach differed from the one applied to Germany, where the linguistic and cultural barriers were not so great and it was assumed that the occupation could be administered by the victorious powers directly.

There was certainly an element of hubris in the peace plans developed by the SFE. The Americans believed not only that it would be possible to impose sweeping changes but that the transition could be controlled and would result in

the desired outcome of creating a stable ally. By making these changes, American occupiers planned to essentially rewrite the social contract between the Japanese government and its citizens after teaching Japan the consequences of starting a war. Some planners were racially biased, dismissing the Japanese race as irrational, indistinct carbon copies united in slavish devotion to the emperor. Echoing the European civilizing mission and America's imperial experience with the Philippines, a period of tutelage would instill American values for the improvement of a misguided people.

Wartime plans were a mix of high-minded intentions and self-interest. As Representative Rogers admitted, American foreign policies were "strictly from a United States point of view. In a sense, they are selfish, for they are aimed at what . . . would be best for this country." But he also linked interests to idealism. "In another sense," he declared, "they are not selfish, because in trying to eliminate those frictions which can cause future antagonism to the United States, we will be making peace in the Pacific more secure for all nations."[15] This tying of American interests to universal gain marked a new phase of American exceptionalism.[16]

American wartime planning aimed to identify and serve US interests in East Asia. The early postwar period would be marked by harsh military occupation and forced disarmament, but in the longer run Japanese cooperation was tied to hope and prosperity through the promise of international trade. This offered a solution to end Japanese aggression and imperialism, to the benefit of Japan's neighbors. But that solution was influenced by Anglo-American imperial rhetoric and effectively replaced Japanese hegemony in East Asia with American. Given, however, that plans were made during a brutal war that Japan had started, the attempt to find shared American and Japanese interests was practical but also generous.

Government bureaucrats, area specialists, and political leaders spent the war years making plans to rebuild Japan as a peaceful nation and an ally of the United States. It was a heavy burden. These men had lived through two world wars. They believed that the current violence was a result of the flawed peace agreement after the Great War. Officials labored to create something more lasting than the harsh terms that had been imposed on Germany, all the while being aware of the horrors that another failure might cause.

The extraordinary human cost of World War II magnified their fears. Civilians and soldiers around the world were subjected to the violence of modern warfare as never before. Years of total war had ravaged civilian populations, causing food, material, and labor shortages as the national effort was directed toward the front. Although the United States, buffered by vast oceans on either side, did not experience the bombing of its crowded cities, the terrorization of civilian populations had become part of a new reality of war. Edmund Wilson, editor of the *New*

Yorker, wrote that mechanized warfare was "the pure gratification of the destructive spirit, as it were in a pure abstract form." He observed "the liberation of some impulse to wreck and kill on a gigantic scale without caring and while remaining invulnerable." Americans, unlike Britons, Chinese, and Japanese, experienced the "vicarious thrill" of modern aerial bombing without ever themselves hearing planes drone overhead in the night.[17] It was a terrible war. For the first time, citizens were killed on a grand scale as "collateral damage" while living or working around military targets, to undermine enemy morale, and as revenge, all with the press of a button.[18]

Witnessing the devastation of Berlin, Truman mused on the particular tragedy of the Second World War. "What a pity," he wrote in his diary, "that the human animal is not able to put his moral thinking into practice. . . . I thought of Carthage, Baalbek, Jerusalem, Rome, Atlantis, Peking, Babylon, Nineveh, Scipio, Ramses II, Titus, Herman, Sherman, Genghis Khan, Alexander, Darius the Great. . . . I hope for some sort of peace, but I fear that machines are ahead of morals by some centuries and when morals catch up perhaps there'll be no reason for any of it."[19] Men from all walks of life were haunted by the losses that years of conflict had caused. Wilson wrote about the strange sensation of going to an opera in New York City while so much human suffering was going on elsewhere, distant and unseen. "We are bombing Berlin to cinders, but nobody talks about it. We meet it mainly with a mixture of competitive satisfaction and a mental evasion of the matter."[20] The Pacific theater saw brutal fighting, mistreatment of prisoners of war, and mutual race hatred. Postwar planners, many of whom were experts who had devoted their lives to the study of Asia and cared deeply for its people, rarely discussed the conduct of war in the course of their work. And yet, atrocity and horror surely filled the shadows and corners of the offices where men worked to construct a robust peace that would ensure that the suffering had not been in vain.

This book has shown how a specific vision of American interests came to be accepted by the Truman administration. American goals for the occupation and plans for the future of Japan were established between 1937 and 1945. During that time, planning groups worked largely independently, sometimes in tandem, and at times with links between them. The plans developed by the SFE group during the war were dramatically different from other options that arose from potential sources of US foreign policy. Many Americans opposed the use of their tax money and manpower to rebuild and reorient a distant land. Popular perception was colored by a profound anger at Japanese aggression and atrocity. According to one survey, fully 42 percent of American GIs in the Pacific theater believed that wiping out the entire Japanese race was the only way to ensure peace

in the future.[21] The public, members of Congress, the president, and others at times advocated return to American isolationism, simple disarmament for Japan, or retribution. After Roosevelt's death the recommendations written by the SFE spread across planning groups and became official policy toward Japan.

The post 9-11 American-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan generated new interest in the occupation of Japan.[22] The "good occupation" became a case study for imposed democratic government and economic development.[23] In 2003, RAND analysts argued that the strength of postwar Japan and Germany as economic powers and staunch allies of the United States "demonstrated" that "democracy was transferable; that societies could, under certain circumstances, be encouraged to transform themselves; and that major transformations could endure."[24] The overwhelming success of Japan as an economic power and committed pacifist nation and its reintegration into the "community of nations" in the Western camp of the Cold War have both strengthened the appeal of a "Japan model" in understanding postwar interventions.

The usefulness of the Japan model is, however, very limited. The occupation of Japan was planned and carried out in a unique moment of global change, and Japan was a specific case. It is a largely homogenous country with a long shared history inside national boundaries. There was little danger it would divide into regional, religious, or ethnic factions. World War II devastated its infrastructure and industry, but Japan still had the bureaucratic, industrial, and financial expertise of a world power.[25] It had been a democracy with a European-modeled constitutional monarchy since the late nineteenth century.

Critics of the 2003 American-led regime change in Iraq charge that the US government acted rashly and was blindsided by the realities encountered on the ground as a result of insufficient planning. They argue that regional specialists and experts would have been better able to anticipate postinvasion developments.[26] Japan's case does not support this idea. Politicians, bureaucrats, and experts, provided with resources from the US government and philanthropic foundations and a long period of deliberation, were unable to anticipate the course of key events in 1945. American occupiers in Japan were surprised by the conditions on the ground and regional transformations.

Measured against initial goals, the occupation was a success. Seventy years later Japan is still stable and largely demilitarized. But the careful planning that went into the occupation only partially explains its success. Planning created a broad vision to guide the occupiers' responses to events as they arose, brought together a network of Asia specialists who could advise the project, and anticipated problems that were then avoided. But it did not foresee important events that would change the course of the occupation and global politics, such as the food crisis and cooperation of the Japanese people, the start of the Cold War,

and the collapse of Nationalist China. There were also unintended consequences. Japan became an economic rival to the United States in the second half of the twentieth century, and one resentful of an unequal relationship and the continued presence of American military bases in the country.

To understand why this occupation succeeded where others failed, other factors need to be considered. The occupiers were foreign, but their ideas were not alien. Western models had been adopted from the Meiji era forward, and Japan was an established parliamentary democracy. National identity, ethnic homogeneity, and the repatriation of Japanese from former colonies held the country together within its borders. As the legal scholar Nehal Bhuta has argued, an effective transformative military occupation depends on the subordination of the occupied population.[27] The destruction of Japan's empire, devastation of its cities, and surrender of its government made defeat undeniable. In other circumstances, cooperating with occupiers can be dangerous. Citizen collaborators face reprisal if the old regime returns. In Japan, the cooperation of the emperor legitimized participation and underlined the futility of organized nationalist resistance. There was no going back.

Leaders are sometimes skeptical of long-range planning. Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Grew, and others expressed contempt for gazing into the unknowable future when there was much more practical work at hand. Even when the goals of an ambitious project are achieved, success has as much to do with unforeseen factors, unexpected developments, and always the element of chance. When so much does not go according to plan, large-scale foreign interventions should be undertaken only with great humility.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Nehal Bhuta, "The Antimonies of Transformative Occupation," *European Journal of International Law* 16, no. 4 (2005): 724–27.

2. For an excellent survey of modern Japanese history, see Marius Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

3. Mira Wilkins, "The Role of U.S. Business," in *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations, 1931–1941*, ed. Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 341–76. Imports from the United States to Japan were mostly cotton, iron, and oil. Despite strong imports, Japan's exports to the United States declined from a high in 1925–29 of 37 percent to 14.3 percent by 1939. William Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 211.

4. Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson, *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11.

5. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

6. Minutes of imperial conference, 1 December 1941, as cited in Akira Iriye, *Pearl Harbor and the Coming of the Pacific War: A Brief History with Documents and Essays* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999).

7. Joseph Grew, "The Menace of Japan," delivered before the Academy of Political Science, 10 November 1942, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 11, no. 5 (1942): 157.

8. The development of Japanese political rhetoric for regional leadership in 1930s and 1940s is explained in Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 205, 227.

9. As Erez Manela has demonstrated, a movement against imperialism swept the globe in the wake of World War I. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

10. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

11. Hornbeck to Hull, 3 January 1944, box 181, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, as cited in Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War against Japan, 1941–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 390.

12. Xiaoyuan Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder: China, the United States, and Their Policies for the Postwar Disposition of the Japanese Empire, 1941–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Rudolf Janssens, *What Future for Japan? US Wartime Planning for the Postwar Era, 1942–1945* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995); John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1987); John Chappell, *Before the Bomb: How America Approached the End of the Pacific War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); Marlene Mayo, "American Wartime Planning for Occupied Japan: The Role of the Experts," in *Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944–1952*, ed. Robert Wolfe (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1984), 3–51; Dale Hellegers, *We the Japanese People: World War Two and the Origins of the Constitution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

13. Good examples of fruitful analysis include Andrew Rich, *Think Tanks, Public Policy and Politics of Expertise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Tomoko Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan, and the Institute of Pacific Relations*

in War and Peace, 1919–1945 (London: Routledge, 2002); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

14. The significance of this moment has been considered with reference to the onset of the Cold War and US policy toward the Soviet Union in Wilson D. Miscamble, *From Roosevelt to Truman: Potsdam, Hiroshima, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Frank Costigliola, *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Marc Gallicchio, *The Cold War Begins in Asia: American East Asian Policy and the Fall of the Japanese Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

15. "Frank Costigliola. *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War*," *H-Diplo Roundtable Review* 14, no. 8 (November 2012): 33, http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables.

16. Gregory McLauchlan, "World War II and the Transformation of the U.S. State: The Wartime Foundations of U.S. Hegemony," *Sociological Inquiry* 67, no. 1 (February 1997): 6 (emphasis in original). John Ikenberry, "Creating Yesterday's New World Order: Keynesian 'New Thinking' and the Anglo-American Postwar Settlement," in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, ed. Judith Goldstein and Robert Owen Keohane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 59.

17. Leon Gordenker, "American Post-war Planning: Policy Elites and the New Deal," in *The Roosevelt Years: New Perspectives on American History, 1933–1945*, ed. Robert Garson and Stuart Kidd (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), and Jeffrey W. Legro, "Whence American Internationalism," *International Organization* 52, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 253–89.

1. FLIP-FLOPPER WITH THE FINAL SAY

1. Press conference no. 888, 30 March 1943, in *The Roosevelt Reader: Selected Speeches, Messages, Press Conferences, and Letters of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Basil Rauch (New York: Rinehart, 1957), 323–25.

2. Advisory committee initial meeting, 12 February 1942, file 548–1, Post–World War II Foreign Policy Planning, State Department Records of Harley Notter, 1939–1945 (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service, 1987), microfilm.

3. Press conference no. 888.

4. Joseph Grew to Stanley Hornbeck, 25 February 1941, MS Am 1687 (111), letters A–K, 1941, Joseph C. Grew Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

5. Franklin Roosevelt to Joseph Grew, 21 January 1941, box 3, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

6. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 163, 20 October 1942 (microfilm ed.), reel 7, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

7. Lauchlin Currie to John Carter Vincent, 18 September 1941, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

8. John Morton Blum, ed., *From the Morgenthau Diaries* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 4:1390.

9. See, for example, Lauchlin Currie to Grace Tully, 17 September 1942, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers, and T. Y. Wickham to Henry Wallace, 27 March 1941, box 88, reel 41, Henry Wallace Papers, Roosevelt Study Center (RSC).

10. For example, Henry Wallace to Franklin Roosevelt, 10 July 1944, reel 6, FDR Office Files, part 2, RSC. In 1944, Roosevelt's ambassador to China resigned over the personal emissary issue. "Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine," 50, Columbia Oral History Project.

11. Stanley Hornbeck served as special adviser to the secretary of state during the war but retained his influence in the Division of Far Eastern Affairs and his place on the information chain. His personal biases in regard to Asia are discussed in chapter 2.

12. Joseph Grew, as quoted in John K. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread: A Life in the U.S. Foreign Service* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978), 102.

13. For the reasons described below, Frank Costigliola's observation that Roosevelt's "manipulations made administration politics emotional, competitive, and unstable" is entirely accurate. Costigliola, "Broken Circle: The Isolation of Franklin D. Roosevelt in World War II," *Diplomatic History* 32, no. 5 (November 2008): 689. This interpretation is shared by Michael Hopkins, "President Harry Truman's Secretaries of State: Stettinius, Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 6, no. 3 (2008): 290.

14. Jim Bishop, *FDR's Last Year: April 1944–April 1945* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 41.

15. "Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann," 220–21.

16. Welles was forced to resign, much to the resentment of Roosevelt, after political enemies threatened to create a scandal around his sexual orientation and misconduct. For more on Welles's work on postwar planning, which particularly focused on Latin America, see Christopher D. O'Sullivan, *Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

17. *The Adolf A. Berle Diary* (Hyde Park, NY: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1978), 211 (7 November 1940), microfilm.

18. Ibid., 376 (26 September 1944). The position of Morgenthau and his Treasury Department in postwar planning will be considered again in the next chapter.

19. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 207–10, 29 March 1945, reel 9, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.

20. Calendar notes, 27 November 1944, in Thomas M. Campbell and George C. Herring, eds., *The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., 1943–1946* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), 184–85.

21. As quoted in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 113.

22. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: Norton, 1987), 88.

23. "Summary of U.S. Authoritative Statements on War Aims and the World," 9 November 1942, box 1850, *RG 44*, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

24. Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948), 2:1642.

25. In February 1944, the advisory committee noted that the "President does not want any plan under which the U.S. would be bound to send troops on the Western Hemisphere and perhaps in the Pacific." Passages in the minutes of advisory committee and its subcommittees reflecting consultation with the President, 8 February 1944, file 548–1, Post–World War II Foreign Policy Planning, State Department Records of Harley Notter, 1939–1945.

26. T. Y Wickham to Henry Wallace, 27 March 1941.

27. For an overview Roosevelt's early life and family background, see Patrick Maney, *The Roosevelt Presence: The Life and Legacy of FDR* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1–11.

28. For more on positive American views on China, see T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931–1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

29. Franklin Roosevelt, "Shall We Trust Japan?," *Asia*, 23 July 1923, as quoted in Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 11.

30. Christopher Thorne uses the presence of American-educated officials to explain the KMT's pro-American, as opposed to pro-British, orientation. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 80.

31. Chiang Kai-shek and his wife were named "Man and Wife of the Year" by *Time* magazine in 1937, a symbol of the popularity the couple enjoyed. The press made much of the American education and accent of Madame Chiang and the couple's Christian faith. "Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek," *Time*, 3 January 1938.

32. Liberating Asia from the yoke of Western imperialism was a major justification for Japanese expansionism. Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 53.

33. Patrick Hurley to Roosevelt, as cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 307.

34. Memorandum of conversation, 27 March 1943, reel 30, Cordell Hull Papers, Library of Congress (LoC).

35. Edward Stettinius to Harry Truman, 18 April 1945, reel 15, Truman Office Files, part 3, RSC.

36. Gary Hess, *The United States' Emergence as a South East Asian Power, 1940–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 124.

37. Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 618n27.

38. For more on diplomatic field reports from China and response in Washington see Hannah Gurman, "'Learn to Write Well:' The China Hands and the Communist-ification of Diplomatic Reporting," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 2 (April 2010): 430–53.

39. For example, Harry Hopkins to FDR, 6 September 1944, reel 6, FDR Office Files, part 2. This reel contains several reports on the strength of the communists, describing them in a positive light.

40. "Memorandum on Current News Items in China," William Donovan to FDR, 4 May 1944, reel 3, FDR Office Files 1943–1945, part 1, "Safe" File.

41. Roosevelt did not reply to a letter from Mao that he received in November 1944 until March 1945, following four months of frustration at Chiang's unwillingness to compromise with the powerful Chinese communists in his country. FDR to Mao Tse-tung, 10 March 1945, reel 6, FDR Office Files, part 2.

42. Henry A. Wallace to FDR, 10 July 1944, reel 6, FDR Office Files, part 2, Diplomatic Correspondence; memoranda of conversation, foreign policy, 24 July 1944, Subject File, Japan, Cordell Hull Papers.

43. This concern was common among the Allies. For example, British Joint Intelligence Committee reports, 7 June 1942 and 4 January 1943, as cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 192.

44. Hull made this point about the importance of China's continued resistance, with the unspoken contrast to France, in an NBC radio address in 1943. "Text of Radio Address By Secretary Hull Outlining Policies of the State Department," *New York Times*, 12 September 1943.

45. Walter La Feber, "Roosevelt, Churchill, and Indochina: 1942–45," *American Historical Review* 80, no. 5 (1975): 1288.

46. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 428.

47. As noted above, the depiction of the Roosevelt administration offered here is broadly in line with that of Christopher Thorne. However, there is good reason to take a more sympathetic view of Roosevelt's China policy than does Thorne, who calls the policy "ill-conceived, inefficient and irresponsible." China had great potential value as a postwar ally and very real value in the present conflict. In addition, as we have seen, there was a broad range of possible shared interests between the US and Chinese Nationalist governments.

48. For example, memorandum of conference with the President, 2 January 1945, in Campbell and Herring, *The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.*, 210.

49. Roosevelt's temper was often described as "getting his Dutch up": see, for example, Hubert Kay, "Wendell Willkie," *Life*, 13 May 1940, 100.

50. "Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann," 219. The crippling polio that made it impossible for Roosevelt even to stand without leg braces did not strike until 1921, at which time he was already building his career. Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 33.

51. "Foes Won't Escape Occupation Again, President Asserts," *New York Times*, 18 August 1944.

52. For more on Japan in World War I, see Frederick Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

53. On Germany, see "Secretary of War's Comments on Suggested Recommendations of Treatment of Germany from the Cabinet Committee," 5 September 1944 (microfilm edition), reel 128, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers. On Japan, see1-B-18, "Japanese Post-War Economic Considerations," 21 July 1943, in *The Occupation of Japan: U.S. Planning Documents, 1942–1945*, ed. Makoto Iokibe (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service, and Tokyo: Maruzen Publishing Co., 1987), microfiche.

54. Memorandum of conversation, aviation policy, 11 November 1943, in *Foreign Relations of the United States [FRUS]: Diplomatic Papers. The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), 177.

55. The idea of Japan as an engine of regional recovery entered the public discourse after Dean Acheson's famous 1947 speech calling Japan the workshop of Asia, but it was a familiar line of argument in wartime planning circles. Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, "The Requirements of Reconstruction," 8 May 1947. Text of the speech is available at http://slantchev.ucsd.edu/courses/nss/documents/acheson-reconstruction.html.

56. The story is recounted by Henry Stimson, who was frustrated and angered by Roosevelt's support of the plan over the objections of his other advisers. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 207–10, 29 March 1945. The British, eager to garner further American aid through an extension of the lend-lease program, accepted this plan at the Quebec conference. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 389.

57. As will be explained in chapter 2, by the time Morgenthau made his request for involvement in planning for Japan, FDR had died and the treasury secretary's influence had waned. This allowed Joseph Grew, a former ambassador to Japan deeply interested in the country's future, to use his position as acting secretary of state to block Morgenthau's request.

58. 19 August 1944, in Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 4:1387–88.

59. Roosevelt, as quoted in Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 4:1422–25. Cited in Steven Casey, *Cautious Crusade: Franklin D. Roosevelt, American Public Opinion*, and *the War against Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 177.

60. 19 August 1944, in Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 4:1387–88.

61. For example, 1-B-18, "Post-war Economic Considerations."

62. This was made apparent in 1946, when a severe food crisis followed occupation-era agricultural disruption and the loss of Korea as Japan's "rice basket." See Christopher Aldous, "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945–52," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 17, no. 4 (2010): 230–56.

63. Franklin Roosevelt, "The Average American and the Average Japanese Have Very Cloudy and Often Erroneous Points of View about Each Other," 30 April 1925, in *F.D.R., Columnist: The Uncollected Columns of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Donald Carmichael (New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1947), 57–58.

64. Franklin Roosevelt, "We Lack a Sense of Humor If We Forget That Not So Very Long Ago We Were Immigrants Ourselves," 21 April 1925, in Carmichael, *F.D.R., Columnist*, 38.

65. Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 49.

66. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 159.

67. Franklin Roosevelt to Chief of Operations, 10 August 1936, reel 33, FDR Office Files, part 3.

68. Correspondence between Frank Knox and Franklin Roosevelt, 23 and 26 February 1942, reel 5, FDR Office Files, part 1.

69. Franklin Roosevelt to Henry Stimson, 1 February 1943, box 88, reel 41, Henry Wallace Papers, RSC.

70. Franklin Roosevelt, "The Average American and the Average Japanese Have Very Cloudy . . . Points of View."

71. Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 11 and 49.

72. FDR speech to Congress, 6 January 1942, as quoted in "The Nature of the Enemy," 11 August 1942, OWI, Reports and Special Memoranda, RG44, MLR: 171, loc. 130: 41/40/1–4, box 1849, NARA.

73. Ibid.

74. "Foes Won't Escape Occupation Again, President Asserts," *New York Times*, 18 August 1944.

75. "The Nature of the Enemy" 11 August 1942.

76. Of the wartime conferences, those taking place at Cairo and Tehran (November–December 1943), Quebec (September 1944), and Yalta (February 1945) were most relevant to Japan planning and are discussed here.

77. The text of the Atlantic Charter is available at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp.

78. Halifax Diary, 2 December 1941, CAB 65/20, as cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 77.

79. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 88.

80. Franklin Roosevelt, as quoted in Elena Agarossi, *A Nation Collapses: The Italian Surrender of September 1943* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003), 21.

81. Agarossi, *A Nation Collapses*, 21–25.

82. "Mem-con, Post-war Problems," 27 March 1942, Subject File, Japan, reel 30, Cordell Hull Papers. The idea of "internationalization" for Japan's island mandates would be presented at Cairo as UN-appointed American trusteeship of the islands for bases in the Pacific.

83. Cairo Declaration, 1 December 1943, in *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 448–49.

84. Sino-American diplomacy in this period is treated in detail in Ronald Heiferman, *The Cairo Conference of 1943: Roosevelt, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), chaps. 1–3.

85. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 107.

86. For example, a 1942 letter from Lattimore to Chiang sketched out Roosevelt's concept of the "big four" powers—the United States, Soviet Union, China, and Great Britain—as "policemen," guaranteeing peace in the postwar world. The United States, Russia, and China were to be the three big powers in the North Pacific. Lattimore's insight into Roosevelt's thinking came from Currie, who discussed Asia issues with the president. Final draft letter from Owen Lattimore to Chiang Kai-shek, 28 December 1942, box 5, Lauchlin Currie Papers.

87. Translated summary, "On the Report of the Institute of Pacific Relations," *Ta Kung Pao [Independent]*, 9 April 1943, series A989, 1943/650/1, part 2, National Archives of Australia.

88. As stated above, Currie was particularly interested in China and often discussed the subject with the president, and Welles was a Roosevelt favorite.

89. Liu argues that Chiang was surprised by Roosevelt's proposal and that his hesitation was a ploy to secure further American military aid. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 134. Neither of these points is convincing. China had previously expressed interest in providing troops for an occupation and, as seen below, did receive a commitment for substantial postwar military aid during this meeting.

90. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 371.

91. Chinese summary record, Roosevelt-Chiang dinner meeting, 23 November 1943, *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 323–24.

92. Marc Gallicchio argues that Roosevelt's offer of Japanese Okinawa was not an error but part of a larger plan, discussed below, to surround the former belligerent with Allied "strong points" to maintain postwar security. Gallicchio, "The Kuriles Controversy: U.S. Diplomacy in the Soviet-Japan Border dispute, 1941–1946," *Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (February 1991): 77. If so, it would be the only Chinese involvement in a plan discussed between the Americans and Russians.

93. Liu offers a different explanation for Chiang's response to Roosevelt's offer of the Ryukyus. He suggests that Chiang rejected the offer as "gesture of self-denial," possibly to ease American concern over Chinese expansionism. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 137.

94. Formosa had become Japan's first colony in 1895 in the settlement that followed the first Sino-Japanese War.

95. D. Michael Green, "America's Strategic Trusteeship Dilemma: Its Humanitarian Obligations," *Texas Law Journal* 9, no. 19 (1974): 19.

96. As quoted in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 491.

97. Green, "America's Strategic Trusteeship Dilemma," 33.

98. For example, a Council on Foreign Relations War and Peace Studies Project report declared that the United States would likely need to retain bases and "use" of the Philippines in an uncertain postwar situation. However, the report insisted that political leaders there would "certainly agree" to a continuing American military presence. Post-war United States- Philippine Relations (preliminary draft), 18 August 1942, call no. 104.3, box 299, folder 3, Council on Foreign Relations Records, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

99. The 1952 peace treaty that ended the Allied occupation of Japan was negotiated simultaneously with a US-Japanese security treaty allowing for American retention of bases in Japan.

100. Bohlen minutes, Roosevelt-Stalin meeting, 29 November 1943, in *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 532.

101. Minutes of a meeting of the Pacific War Council, 12 January 1944, in *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 868.

102. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 127–30.

103. This agreement, but not its 1945 reappearance, is mentioned in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 428. The situation was explained in James Byrnes to Harry Truman, 3 September 1945, reel 25, Truman Office Files, part 3.

104. C. L. Sulzberger, "Conferences Fixed the Shape of World to Come," *New York Times*, 12 December 1943.

105. From 1942 Roosevelt imagined that the United States, Soviet Union, and China would be the dominant postwar powers in the North Pacific. Final draft letter from Owen Lattimore to Chiang Kai-shek, 28 December 1942, box 5, Lauchlin Currie Papers.

106. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 108–10, 121.

107. Ibid., 107, 113–14.

108. Yee Wah Foo, "Fu Bingchang, Chiang Kai-shek and Yalta," *Cold War History* 9, no. 3 (2009): 395.

109. Soong responded to Roosevelt's support for Russia's railway claim by challenging its historical basis, which Roosevelt avoided by stating that he was not well informed on the issue. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 113–14.

110. Memoirs of Joseph Ballantine, 266, box 1, Joseph Ballantine Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

111. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 509.

112. Telegram from Charge d'Affaires of the USSR to the United States to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR," n.d, classified on 30 July 1943, reprinted in Amos Perlmutter, *FDR and Stalin: A Not So Grand Alliance, 1943–1945* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 255.

113. "Agreement on Terms for Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan," 11 February 1945, in Edward Stettinius Jr., *Roosevelt and the Russians, the Yalta Conference* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1949), app.

114. Sovereignty of these islands had been a matter of contention between imperial Russia and Japan in the nineteenth century but had been resolved in 1905. Marc Gallicchio argues convincingly that Roosevelt's secret Kuriles commitment was not, as some have argued, the result of his misunderstanding of the long history of sovereignty disputes over the islands between Russia and Japan but rather a knowing compensation for the Soviet Union in return for its entry into the war. Gallicchio, "The Kuriles Controversy," 70–76.

115. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 526.

116. Chinese summary record, Roosevelt-Chiang dinner meeting, 23 November 1943.

117. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 509.

118. Ibid., 120. This point is also the main thrust of Bishop, *FDR's Last Year.*

2. ELBOW PATCHES AND ORIENTALISTS

1. Hugh Borton, *American Presurrender Planning for Postwar Japan*, Occasional Papers of the East Asian Institute (New York: Columbia University East Asian Institute, 1967), 67.

2. For example, Grew noted that he had reservations about "any discussion of this problem" because there were too many "imponderable factors" to set views on future courses of action. Grew to Vera Dean, 9 August 1943, MS Am 1687 (115), Joseph C. Grew Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

3. Borton, *American Presurrender Planning*, 82.

4. Index, in Iokibe, *The Occupation*, and Report on the Work of the Inter-divisional Area Committee on the Far East, 14 February 1944, box 164, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

5. Joseph Ballantine memoir, 237, box 1, Joseph Ballantine Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

6. 1-A-5, "Passages in the Minutes of Advisory Committee and Its Subcommittee Reflecting Consultation with the President," 20 May 1942, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

7. 1-A-5, "Indications of Contact with President on Post-war Matters," 17 November 1942, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

8. 1-A-5, "Passages in the Minutes of Advisory Committee and Its Subcommittee Reflecting Consultation with the President," 22 February 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

9. 1-A-5, "Passages in the Minutes of Advisory Committee and Its Subcommittee Reflecting Consultation with the President," 19 June 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

10. 1-A-5, "Passages in the Minutes of Advisory Committee and Its Subcommittee Reflecting Consultation with the President," 31 March 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

11. 2-A-54, "Security Policy vis a vis Japan: Economic Aspect," 30 April 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

12. 1-B-21, "General Principles Applicable to the Post-War Settlement with Japan," 28 July 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.* The term "United Nations" was synonymous with "Allied Powers" during the war and was not a reference to the later United Nations Organization.

13. Hellegers, *We the Japanese People*, 1:162–65.

14. James Forrestal to Joseph Grew, 17 July 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), Joseph C. Grew Papers.

15. 2-A-36, "Japan: The Post-War Objectives of the United States in Regard to Japan," 4 May 1944 (final version of four), in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

16. "Coordination of State, War and Navy Departments in Matters of a Diplomatic-Military Nature—Considerations Supporting Establishment of a Coordinating Committee by Executive Order," 18 April 1945, folder 1, Alvin Franklin Richardson Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

17. Walter Millis, ed., *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York: Viking, 1951), 45.

18. Erik Larson, *In the Garden of Beasts: Love, Terror, and an American Family in Hitler's Berlin* (New York: Crown, 2011), 77.

19. Joseph Grew to Eugene Dooman, 15 May 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), letters, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

20. Telephone memorandum of conversation, Henry Morgenthau and Joseph Grew, 25 June 1945, MS Am 1687.3 (7), mem. cons. (1945), Joseph C. Grew Papers.

21. Borton, *American Presurrender Planning*, 11.

22. Of course, America at that time had experience in East Asia through its colonization of the Philippines, which had been granted commonwealth status and a set date for independence in 1936. Dean Kotlowski, "Independence or Not? Paul V. McNutt, Manuel L. Quezon, and the Re-examination of Philippine Independence, 1937–9," *International History Review* 32, no. 3 (September 2010): 501–31.

23. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread*, 93.

24. Hornbeck sent articles to Hull, and also to Ed Stettinius, who replaced Hull as secretary of state in 1945. Various boxes, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

25. For example, Fearey cited a *Foreign Affairs* article as the basis for his report on Japanese reparations. 1-B-32, "Japanese Reparations (Preliminary)," 16 November 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

26. Joseph Grew to James Forrestal, 20 September 1943, MS Am 1687 (115), letters 1943, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

27. 1-B-20, "Memcon between Sir George Sansom, George H. Blakeslee, and Hugh Borton on Postwar Japan," 28 July 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

28. Joseph Grew to Stanley Hornbeck, 30 September 1943, MS Am 1687 (115), letters 1943, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

29. Grew was hard of hearing, which goes some way toward explaining his reticence about learning a new language in middle age. He spoke to Japanese diplomats in English, German, or French. Henri Smith-Hutton, oral interview by Captain Paul Ryan, 22 February 1974, folder 1, Henri Smith-Hutton Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

30. The world changed dramatically during the course of Grew's career. His early assignments included attachments to embassies in imperial Russia and Austria-Hungary. He recalled elaborate social gatherings held in the court of Czar Nicholas II. For more on the changing American diplomatic tradition in the interwar period, see Gurman, "'Learn to Write Well.'"

31. Henri Smith-Hutton, oral interview by Captain Paul Ryan, 22 February 1974.

32. Prior to Perry's arrival, feudal Japan maintained a "closed country" policy, shutting itself off from foreign relations and trade.

33. Grew to Stettinius, n.d. [1944], MS Am 1687 (120), letters 1944, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

34. Grew to Vera Dean, 9 August 1943.

35. Grew to Stettinius, n.d. [1944].

36. Sumner Welles paraphrased Grew's argument in his bestselling *The Time for Decision* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 236.

37. Reminiscences of Eugene H. Dooman, 2, Columbia Oral History Project, Butler Library, Columbia University.

38. Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine, 30, Columbia Oral History Project.

39. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread*, 96.

40. Eugene Dooman to Herbert Feis, 8 July 1949, box 1, Eugene Dooman Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

41. Eugene Dooman to Colonel Truman Martin, 12 January 1944, box 1, Eugene Dooman Papers.

42. Although this fits in with a decline of Japan crowd influence after August 1945, former Dooman colleague and naval attaché in Japan Henri Smith-Hutton argued that Dooman had been passed over because he was "the sort of person who bred grudges." Henri Smith-Hutton, oral interview by Captain Paul Ryan, 22 February 1974.

43. Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine,112.

44. Ibid., 13.

45. Ibid., 112. Chinese officials, however, did not recognize Ballantine as equally knowledgeable on China issues, or at least not sufficiently sympathetic toward China. T.V. Soong requested of Roosevelt's adviser Harry Hopkins that Ballantine not be involved in any State Department preparation for the Cairo conference because he was "essentially an expert on Japan." Liu, *Partnership for Disorder*, 123.

46. Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine, 13.

47. Ibid., 55–56.

48. Ibid., 50. Grew also entrusted Ballantine, his "wise and well fitted deputy," with running the Far East Office "most of the time." Joseph Grew, *Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years 1904–1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), 1383. Secretary Hull had developed respect for Ballantine after the latter worked under him on negotiations with Japan in 1941. Hull was so determined to keep Ballantine on hand after war broke out that he appointed him consul-general to Canada for three days in order to get around fieldwork requirements that would have forced Ballantine to leave Washington. Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine, 38.

49. Joseph Grew to Reverend John Crocker, 3 March 1941, MS Am 1687 (111), letters A–K 1941, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

50. Robert Fearey, "Tokyo 1941: Might the Pacific War Have Been Avoided?" (unpublished manuscript), http://www.connectedcommunities.net/robertfearey/landreform.html.

51. "The Occupation of Japan Economic Policy and Reform," in *The Proceedings of a Symposium Sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial April 13–15, 1978*, ed. Lawrence H. Redford (Norfolk, VA: MacArthur Memorial, 1980).

52. Ibid.

53. Reminiscences of Eugene H. Dooman, 143.

54. James W. Morley, "Hugh Borton (1903–1995)," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56, no. 1 (February 1997): 289–90.

55. Reminiscences of Joseph Ballantine, 54.

56. Council on Foreign Relations Study Group, Japan's Peace Terms, fourth meeting, 3 March 1942, U.S. in the Far East Series, box 1, 1940–1948, Royal Institute for International Affairs, Far East Department Papers, School of Oriental and African Studies Archives (SOAS).

57. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to George Blakeslee, July 1942, box 8, folder 17, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

58. Akira Iriye credits Borton and Blakeslee with trying to establish a "clearly Wilsonian" liberal policy for Japan "designed to reintegrate it into the world community through economic interdependence." Iriye, *Power and Culture*, 150. However, this conception was shared by most members of the committee.

59. Hornbeck served as special adviser to the secretary during most of this period.

60. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread*, 79.

61. Memorandum of conversation, Cordell Hull and Lord Halifax, 16 May 1941, Cordell Hull Papers, LoC.

62. Lauchlin Currie to John C. Vincent, 14 February 1942, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

63. Reminiscences of Eugene H. Dooman, 108.

64. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread*, 117.

65. Lurton Blassinggame to Laurence Salisbury, 25 June 1952, box 3, Laurence E. Salisbury Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

66. P-Minutes, 20, 1 August 1942, box 350, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

67. Margin notes on "The Treatment of Defeated Japan," Council on Foreign Relations, American-Chinese Study Group, 13 April 1944, box 134, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

68. Juha Saunavaara, "Occupation Authorities, the Hatoyama Purge and the Making of Japan's Postwar Political Order," *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 39, no. 2 (September 2009): 1–16.

69. Committee on Postwar-Programs reports on military government in the Japanese Empire, Thailand, and Manchuria, summary, 10 April 1944, box 535, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

70. Eugene Dooman to Truman Martin, 12 January 1944, box 1, Eugene Dooman Papers.

71. 1-B-18, "Japanese Post-war Economic Considerations," 21 July 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

72. 2-B-35, "IDAFE Minutes," 15 April 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

73. 2-D-2, "Minutes Department of State Committee on Post-war Programs," 21 April 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

74. 2-A-34, "Japan: The Postwar Objectives of the United States in Regard to Japan," 14 March 1944 (final version of four), in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

75. 2-A-36, "Japan: The Post-War Objectives of the United States in Regard to Japan, PWC 108b," 4 May1944 (final version of four), in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

76. 2-B-75, "IDAFE Meeting No. 94," 3 July 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

77. C. L. Sulzberger, "Conferences Fixed the Shape of World to Come," *New York Times*, 12 December 1943.

78. 2-A-54, "Security Policy vis a vis Japan: Economic Aspect," 30 April 1944.

79. 2-A-49, "Japan: United States Econ Policies," 15 April 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

80. 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

81. 2-A-54, "Japan: Abolition of Militarism and Strengthening Dem Process," 1 May 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

82. 2-B-169, "Minutes of Meeting No. 188," 16 February 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

83. 5-C-5, "Econ Pol Toward Jpn: Summary Statement," 17 April 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

84. 5-A-42, "Notes by George Sansom," 29 May 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

85. Atlantic Charter, 14 August 1941, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp.

86. 2-B-169, "Minutes of Meeting No. 188," 16 February 1945.

87. 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945, and 2-A-49, "Japan: United States Econ Policies," 15 April 1944.

88. "Political Objectives in the Far East," 1 May 1945, as cited in Millis, *The Forrestal Diaries*, 52.

89. Political subcommittee minutes 20, meeting of 1 August 1942, box 350, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

90. Committee on Postwar-Programs reports on military government in the Japanese Empire, Thailand, and Manchuria, summary, 10 April 1944.

91. 4-C-5, "Forwarding SWNCC70/2 to JCS," 25 June 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

92. 2-A-96, "Japan: Ter Prob Liuchiu [Okinawa]," 7 October 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

93. Joseph Ballantine memoir, 266.

94. Joseph Grew to James Forrestal, 12 May 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), Joseph C. Grew Papers.

95. 2-B-129, "IDAFE Minutes, Meeting No. 148," 10 October 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

96. 2-A-91, "Japan: Ter Probs: Kurile Is," 28 December 1944, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

97. 2-A-103, "A Summary of Recommendations for Japan Approved by the Committee on Post-War Programs," 5 January 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

98. 2-A-49, "Japan: United States Econ Policies," 15 April 1944, and 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945.

99. 2-A-103, "A Summary of Recommendations for Japan Approved by the Committee on Post-War Programs," 5 January 1945.

100. 2-B-35, "IDAFE Mins," April 15 1944.

101. 2-A-54, "Japan: Abolition of Militarism and Strengthening Democratic Process," 1 May 1944.

102. For example, Saunavaara, "Occupation Authorities," and Moore and Robinson, *Partners for Democracy*, chap. 1. As seen in this chapter, the reality was more complex.

103. 2-B-35, "IDAFE Minutes," 15 April 1944.

104. 5-C-1, "Annex 1, Recommendations for the Treatment of Japan," 1 January 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

105. Akira Iriye's description of US wartime plans to create a nonaggressive, colony-less country whose survival was tied to economic interdependence is therefore accurate. Iriye, *Power and Culture*, 61.

106. Interview with Edwin O. Reischauer by Dale M. Hellegers, 12 February 1973, box 5, Papers of Dale M. Hellegers, Truman Library.

107. Andrew Johnstone, "Creating a 'Democratic Foreign Policy': The State Department's Division of Public Liaison and Public Opinion, 1944–1953," *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 3 (June 2011): 487.

108. This trend was noted in Tae Jin Park, "Guiding Public Opinion on the Far Eastern Crisis, 1931–1941: The American State Department and Propaganda on the Sino–Japanese Conflict," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 22, no. 3 (2011): 388.

109. Bernard Cohen, as quoted in Ole R. Holsti, *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 35.

110. For an overview of the creation of the OWI, see Betty Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 156–57.

111. Ibid., 157. Mowrer had served as a correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News* in both Berlin and Tokyo in the 1930s. His wife later reflected on her feelings toward Germany, which the couple had not wanted to leave. "Looking back on it all is like seeing someone you love go mad—and do horrible things." It is a sentiment with which many

of the Japan planners would have been able to sympathize. Lillian Mowrer, as quoted in Larson, *In the Garden of Beasts*, 106–7.

112. Arthur Krock, quoted in Betty Winfield, *FDR and the News Media*, 160.

113. Memo for Hon. Lowell Melett, 21 July 1941, series 5, box 142, PSF, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

114. Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), vii.

115. Jespersen, *American Images of China*, 77.

116. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 250.

117. Articles on Japan promoted by the OWI are listed in OWI Special Services, box 161, RG 208, MLR 45, Bureau of Special Services, Records of Research Division, NARA.

118. Studs Terkel, "*The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York: New Press, 1984), 351.

119. A 1943 speech on national interest and postwar plans by Hull, for example, was first broadcast on NBC radio stations across the nation. The transcription was then published in newspapers to reach the widest audience possible. "Text of Radio Address by Secretary Hull Outlining Policies of the State Department," *New York Times*, 12 September 1943.

120. Memorandum, Joseph Grew to Robert Fearey, 24 August 1943, box 1, Robert Fearey Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

121. 89 Cong. Rec., 4505–4512 (1943).

122. Johnstone, "Creating a 'Democratic Foreign Policy,'" 492.

123. Walter Lippmann to Edward Stettinius, 17 January 1944, box 103, folder 2000, reel 92, Walter Lippmann Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

124. Winfield, *FDR and the News Media*, 165.

125. Robert Taft, as quoted in Johnstone, "Creating a 'Democratic Foreign Policy,'" 495.

126. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Abroad," *New York Times*, 18 October 1943.

127. Henry Luce to Cordell Hull, 25 January 1943, as cited in Robert A. Divine, *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America during World War II* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 82.

128. Robert Moses, "A 'Middle of the Road' Peace Plan," *New York Times Magazine*, 30 May 1943.

129. Ibid.

130. Andrew Johnstone argues that public backlash against secret dealings after the Great War provided impetus in the State Department for better public relations during World War II. Johnstone, "Creating a 'Democratic Foreign Policy,'" 491.

131. Bruce Catton, *The Warlords of Washington* (New York: Harcourt, 1948) 74, as quoted in Winfield, *FDR and the News Media*, 164.

132. Diary, 25 April 1947, in Millis, *The Forrestal Diaries*, 53.

133. Quoted from a 1945 opinion poll in Chappell, *Before the Bomb*, 24.

3. UNOFFICIAL OFFICIALS

1. Walter H. Mallory to Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 8 December, 1941, box 2, Norman H. Davis Papers, LoC.

2. For more on the history and development of think tanks, which grew out of the turn-of-the-century Progressive Era but were not called by this term until after World War II, see Mahmood Ahmad, "US Think Tanks and the Politics of Expertise: Role, Value and Impact," *Political Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (October–December 2008): 530, and Priscilla Roberts, "A Century of International Affairs Think Tanks in Historical Perspective," *International Journal* 70, no. 4 (2015): 535–55.

3. For a general background on the early days of the Council on Foreign Relations, see Peter Grose, *Continuing the Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996), chaps. 1–3.

4. For a brief overview of influential council members, see Lawrence Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Authors' Choice Press, 1977), 5.

5. Editorial statement, *Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (1922): 1.

6. Henry Stimson, secretary of war and council member, wrote scathing letters to the council in response to such invitations. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Whitney Shepherdson, 14 June 1934, box 57, folder 19, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

7. This information is gathered from the Far East Study Group reports between 1937 and 1945, which include a list of members present. See box 132, Council on Foreign Relations Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

8. See, for example, Phoebe Courtney and Kent Courtney, *America's Unelected Rulers, The Council on Foreign Relations* (New Orleans: Conservative Society of America, 1962).

9. Shoup and Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust*, 23.

10. Leslie H. Gelb, president of the CFR, in introduction to Grose, *Continuing the Inquiry*, x.

11. John K. Fairbank, "William L. Holland and the IPR in Historical Perspective," *Pacific Affairs* 52, no. 4 (1979–1980): 590.

12. Ahmad, "US Think Tanks," 529.

13. It is generally the case that the issues in government foreign policy have become more complex as globalization and interlinkage have increased, forcing policymakers to rely on specialists for issues outside their own knowledge. James Allen Smith, *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite* (New York: Macmillan/Free Press, 1991), xix.

14. Yukata Sasaki, "Foreign Policy Experts as Service Intellectuals: The AIPR, the CFR and Planning the Occupation of Japan during World War Two," in *The United States and the Second World War: New Perspectives on Diplomacy, War and the Home Front*, ed. Kurt Piehler and Sidney Pash (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 297.

15. Sir Frederic Eggleston, former Australian minister to China, as cited in James Cotton, "Celebrating 75 Years: The Australian Institute of International Affairs and Australian International Relations," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62, no. 4 (2008): 554.

16. John Thomas, *The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 7.

17. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 251.

18. For the records and agendas of these conferences, see box 465, Institute of Pacific Relations Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University.

19. Excerpt from trustee confidential bulletin, 1 January 1940, box 354, folder 4212, RG 1.1, series 200S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

20. A statement on the founding and mission of the Rockefeller Foundation can be found at http://m.rockfound.org.

21. For a record of the Rockefeller Foundation's early research on the proposed project, see memorandum of conversation with Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith, Joseph H. Willits, 11 October 1939, series 100S, box 99, folder 893, Rockefeller Foundation Papers. The foundation also supported IPR projects such as a 1938 series of studies on the Far East situation. Institute of Pacific Relations grant approval, 18 February 1938, box 354, folder 4212, RG1.1, series200S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

22. Stanley Hornbeck to Carr, 23 February 1937, box 145, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

23. James Thomson Jr., "The Role of the State Department," in Borg and Okamoto, *Pearl Harbor as History*, 83. The Far East Division was renamed the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs in 1966. In 2012 it reported an annual budget of $302 million and had 1,583 employees. Just over half of the State Department's full-time employees work within the United States. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs overview, http://www.allgov.com/agency/Bureau_of_East_Asian_and_Pacific_Affairs. U.S. State Department Fiscal Year 2011 Agency Financial Report, p. 8, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177397.pdf.

24. Owen Lattimore, *America and Asia: Problems of Today's War and the Peace of Tomorrow* (Claremont, CA: Claremont Colleges, 1943), 33.

25. Far East Study Group, "The Course of War in China, Memoranda of Discussion," 24 January 1940, box 132, folder 8, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

26. Far East Study Group, "China in the Postwar Asiatic World," 18 November 1944, box 300, folder 3, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

27. Far East Study Group, "American Attitudes towards a Postwar Settlement," 8 December 1943, box 440, folder 2, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

28. For a history of Lattimore's career, see Robert P. Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992). Unfortunately, Newman does not discuss Lattimore's position within the Council on Foreign Relations.

29. Lauchlin Currie to Chiang Kai-shek, 25 June 1941, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

30. Box 29, Owen Lattimore Papers, LoC. Of course, events proved this assumption false. Or Rosenboim argues that Lattimore held a unique definition of democracy, implying local governance as opposed to foreign imperialism. However, Lattimore's audience surely understood his assertions using the conventional definition, thereby setting unrealistic expectations for Chinese democracy. Rosenboim, "Geopolitics and Global Democracy in Owen Lattimore's Political Thought," *International History Review* 36, no. 4 (2014): 745–66.

31. Territorial Series, memorandum of discussions, 15 December 1942, box 25, folder 9, Owen Lattimore Papers.

32. Changes in 1942, as reported in Rockefeller Foundation: Memorandum on IPR Program, 4 February 1942, box 60, IPR Papers, Columbia University.

33. William Lockwood to Joseph Willits, 2 November 1942, box 60, IPR Papers.

34. Council on Foreign Relations grant approval, 1 December 1943, box 99, folder 896, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

35. Trustees' bulletin, "The War and Peace Studies," 1 January 1946, box 99, folder 896, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

36. The term "external bureaucrats" is borrowed from Chadwick Alger, "The External Bureaucracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (June 1962): 50–78.

37. Cordell Hull to Norman H. Davis, 12 November 1940, box 99, folder 893, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers. This letter was likely written with the intention of its being forwarded to the Rockefeller Foundation in support of securing further financial aid for the project.

38. Eugene Dooman to Truman Martin, 12 January 1944, box 1, Eugene Dooman Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

39. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Norman H. Davis, 4 October 1941, box 2, Norman H. Davis Papers.

40. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Leo Pasvolsky, 12 March 1942, box 2, Norman H. Davis Papers.

41. Trustees' bulletin, "The War and Peace Studies," 1 January 1946.

42. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Norman H. Davis, 19 February 1942, box 2, Norman H. Davis Papers.

43. For a colorful character portrait of Pasvolsky, see Robert A. Divine, *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America during World War II* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 41.

44. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Isaiah Bowman, 26 March 1942, box 12, folder 2, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers.

45. Isaiah Bowman to Willits, 23 November 1943, box 99, folder 896, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

46. "Alternatives of United States Policy in the Western Pacific" (preliminary memorandum first draft), 5 October 1940, box 25, folder 9, Owen Lattimore Papers.

47. Far East Study Group, "Post War United States-Philippine Relations" (preliminary draft), 18 August 1942, box 299, folder 3, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

48. Digest of discussion, T-A25, 1942:9, as quoted in William Domhoff, *The Power Elite and the State: How Policy Is Made in America* (New York: A. de Gruyter, 1990), 138.

49. Territorial Series, memorandum of discussions, 18 March 1942, box 25, folder 9, Owen Lattimore Papers.

50. Far East Study Group, "The Regional Organization of Security" (discussion draft), 4 April 1944, box 300, folder 2, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

51. Book review of Albert J. Grajdanzev, *Modern Korea*, in Meribeth Cameron, "Korea and the Future," *New York Times*, 27 May 1945.

52. Ruth Savord to Institute of Pacific Relations, 10 December 1941, box 48, IPR Papers; Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 251–52.

53. Numerous OWI requests for microfilm copies of IPR reports can be found in box 73, IPR Papers.

54. "Japan and the Chinese War," January 1938, box 16, IPR Papers.

55. The ACIPR included examples of resource sharing in an appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation for additional funds. William Lockwood to Joseph Willits, 2 November 1942.

56. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 256.

57. Professor George Blakeslee, for example, was appointed to head the State Department's Area Committee on the Far East, which made policy recommendations to the Postwar Problems Committee and the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee on postwar Japan.

58. Council on Foreign Relations grant approval, 2 December 1942, box 99, folder 896, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

59. Far East Study Group, "Japan's Peace Terms, Fourth Meeting, Do Bases for a Real Peace Exist between the United States and Japan?," 3 March 1942, U.S. in the Far East Series, box 1, 1940–1948, Royal Institute for International Affairs Far East Department Papers, SOAS.

60. Mira Wilkins, "The Role of U.S. Business," in Borg and Okamoto, *Pearl Harbor as History.*

61. Imports from the United States were mostly cotton, iron, and oil. Despite strong imports, Japan's exports to the United States declined from a high in 1925–1929 of 37 percent to 14.3 percent by 1939. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 211.

62. Far East Study Group, "Discussion of Neutrality, Trade, and Defense," 14 March 1939, box 131, folder 7, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

63. Shoup and Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust*, 141–42.

64. Far East Study Group, "Study Group Digest of Discussion, Japan's Peace Terms, Second Meeting, Do Bases for a Real Peace Exist Between the United States and Japan?," 26 November 1941, U.S. in the Far East Series, box 1, 1940–1948, Royal Institute for International Affairs Far East Department Papers.

65. Chinese-American Study Group, "The Treatment of Defeated Japan," 13 April 1944, box 134, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

66. Far East Study Group, "Our Future Trade Relations with Japan," 17 April 1940, box 132, folder 8, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

67. Far East Study Group, "The Course of War in China," 24 January 1940.

68. Far East Study Group, "Our Future Trade Relations with Japan," 17 April 1940.

69. Far East Study Group, "Discussion of Neutrality, Trade, and Defense," 14 March 1939.

70. Far East Study Group, "Study Group Digest of Discussion, Japan's Peace Terms, Fourth Meeting, Do Bases for a Real Peace Exist Between the United States and Japan?," 3 March 1942.

71. Chinese-American Study Group, "The Treatment of Defeated Japan," 13 April 1944, box 134, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

72. Far East Study Group, "Study Group Digest of Discussion, Concrete Issues in a Post-War Settlement with Japan, Sixth Meeting, Do Bases for a Real Peace Exist Between the United States and Japan?," 7 April 1942, U.S. in the Far East Series, box 1, 1940–1948, Royal Institute for International Affairs Far East Department Papers.

73. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 252–53.

74. Lawrence Woods, *Asia-Pacific Diplomacy: Nongovernmental Organizations and International Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 32.

75. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 253.

76. Fairbank, "William L. Holland and the IPR in Historical Perspective," 589.

77. George Blakeslee to Hamilton Fish Armstrong, n.d., box 74, folder 17, Correspondence 1942, MC002, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers.

78. Biographical note, George H. Blakeslee Papers, Clark University Archives and Special Collections, http://www.clarku.edu/research/archives/blakeslee/bio_note.cfm.

79. Joseph Grew to Edward Stettinius, 5 January 1945, MS Am 1687 (123), Joseph C. Grew Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

80. "War in China," *Time*, 15 November 1937.

81. Domhoff, *The Power Elite and the State*, 116.

82. Many letters between the four are included in the Davis Papers: box 27, Hull folder, Norman H. Davis Papers.

83. Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932–1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 244.

84. Box 139, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers.

85. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 278–80.

86. Lawrence T. Woods, "Learning from NGO Proponents of Asia-Pacific Regionalism: Success and Its Lessons," *Asian Survey* 35, no. 9 (September 1995): 813.

87. For example, the British Chatham House group sent a report on reform and the treatment of postwar Japan to an ACIPR meeting in January 1944. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 261.

88. These are the December 1942 Mont Tremblant and January 1945 Hot Springs Conferences. Because discussion records are not available, the content of these conferences is gathered from conference agendas, media coverage, IPR published summaries, and delegate reports.

89. Woods, *Asia-Pacific Diplomacy*, 32.

90. 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

91. John Sterndale Bennett, February 1945, as cited in Roger Buckley, *Occupation Diplomacy, Britain, the United States and Japan 1945–1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 9.

92. Buckley, *Occupation Diplomacy*, 201.

93. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 261, and Yutaka Sasaki, "Foreign Policy Experts," 299.

94. These issues arise repeatedly in the collected notes and published reports on the first wartime IPR conference, which took place in 1942. *War and Peace in the Pacific, A Preliminary Report on the Eighth Conference IPR Mont Tremblant 1942* (New York: IPR, 1943).

95. "Australia Different Line: Report of Meeting, Study Group on Post-War International Organisation, Reconstruction Studies," 25 June 1942, Australian Institute of International Affairs, IPR Papers.

96. Buckley, *Occupation Diplomacy*, 186–87.

97. Herbert Evatt, Minister of External Affairs, "Evatt Charges Britain Is Denying Australia a Place in Peace Talks," *Evening Star*, 24 August 1945.

98. Memo from Paul Hasluck to Minister of External Affairs, 15 January 1943, series A989, 1943/650/1, pt. 2, Department of External Affairs, National Archives of Australia.

99. C. Hartley Grattan, "British Commonwealth Conference," *Far Eastern Survey* 13, no. 12 (June 1944): 112.

100. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 132.

101. For example, 2-A-102, "Japan: United States: Disposition of the Mandated Islands," 26 January 1945, and 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945.

102. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 258, 262.

103. "Draft Agenda, Wartime and Postwar Cooperation of the United Nations in the Far East, IPR Conference," 9 June 1942, box 63, IPR Papers; "Plan of Meetings and Revised Agenda," 4 December 1942, box 467, IPR Papers.

104. The SWNCC, responsible for American policy on Japan, grew out of Pasvolsky's Division of Special Research. Lauchlin Currie was a passionate China hand who used his position to pass favorable reports and articles on China to FDR.

105. Lauchlin Currie to FDR, 18 December 1942, box 5, Lauchlin Currie Papers.

106. Lauchlin Currie to John C. Vincent, 4 January 1943, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers.

107. These quotes are taken from a translated summary of "On the Report of the Institute of Pacific Relations," *Ta Kung Pao [Independent]*, 9 April 1943, which was made by and circulated in the Australian Department of External Affairs as indicative of Chinese views on postwar planning. Series A989, 1943/650/1, pt. 2, Department of External Affairs, National Archives of Australia.

108. Ibid.

109. "Welles for Force to Maintain Peace," *New York Times*, 8 April 1943.

110. Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder*, 122.

111. William C. Johnstone, "The Hot Springs Conference," *Far Eastern Survey* 14, no. 2 (January 1945): 16.

112. 2-A-102, "Japan: United States: Disposition of the Mandated Islands," 26 January 1945.

113. 2-B-168, "IDAFE Meeting No. 187," 8 February 1945.

114. For an overview of the American delegation, see also Sasaki, "Foreign Policy Experts," 299–303. The paper Norman presented, "Feudal Background of Japanese Politics," was later published as Secretariat Paper No. 9 (IPR: New York, 1945).

115. Sir Frederick Whyte, "When Japan Is Beaten," *Times* (Australia), 13 February 1945, and "Japanese Ruler Must Lose His Autocracy," *Observer* (Australia), 28 January 1945.

116. Hasluck, *Diplomatic Witness*, 71, as cited in Woods, *Asia-Pacific Diplomacy*, 32–33.

117. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, 258, 270.

118. Walter Mallory to William Diebold Jr, 28 September 1945, box 300, folder 4, Council on Foreign Relations Records.

119. Trustees' Bulletin, "The War and Peace Studies," 1 January 1946.

4. INFORMATION AND IGNORANCE

1. For an analysis of Roosevelt's use of popular idiom and relaxed style in creating a mass political culture, see D. Ryfe, "Franklin Roosevelt and the Fireside Chats," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 4 (1999): 80–103.

2. For more on the speech, see Dorothy Borg, "Notes on Roosevelt's "Quarantine" Speech," *Political Science Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1957): 405–33.

3. A 1943 speech on national interest and postwar plans by Cordell Hull, for example, was first broadcast on NBC radio stations across the nation. The transcription was then published in newspapers to reach the widest audience possible. "Text of Radio Address by Secretary Hull Outlining Policies of the State Department," *New York Times*, 12 September 1943.

4. Casey, *Cautious Crusade*, 21.

5. Of course, not all journalists were particularly well informed about Asia. At the end of the war, one famous news correspondent complained to a colleague, "I feel that the Americans understand their domestic affairs fairly well and their foreign relations not at all—largely because so much writing on this subject is done by rank amateurs." Edgar Mowrer to Dorothy Thompson, 7 August 1945, box 28, Edgar Ansel Mowrer Papers, LoC.

6. "Questions on the Far East," December 1940, series 5, box 157, PSF, Roosevelt Library.

7. Jespersen, *American Images of China*, xix.

8. Memorandum to Lowell Mellett, 21 July 1941, series 5, box 142, PSF, Roosevelt Library.

9. Donald White, "The 'American Century' in World History," *Journal of World History* 3, no. 2 (1992): 116.

10. Rudolf Janssens relied on reading lists in his analysis of government consumption of published material on Japan. Janssens, *What Future for Japan?*, 79. However, only a handful of government departments, which I consider tangential to the process of planning for Japan, created such lists. I have therefore relied on correspondence and other evidence in collections of personal papers.

11. For an examination of this phenomenon in the context of British imperialism, see Andrew Porter, "Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire" in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. William Roger Louis, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 222–46.

12. Jespersen, *American Images of China*, 25.

13. Park, "Guiding Public Opinion," 395.

14. Peter Moreira, *Hemingway on the China Front: His WWII Spy Mission with Martha Gellhorn* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2006), 146.

15. Barbara Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 251.

16. This is not to say there was no business or missionary link with Japan. IDAFE member Eugene Dooman, for example, was born in Japan as the child of missionary parents. Haruo Iguchi writes about business links in *Unfinished Business: Ayukawa Yoshisuke and U.S.-Japan Relations, 1937–1953* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003). There were also a small number of expatriates resident in Japan before the war. Wilfrid Fleisher, former editor of the *Japan Advisor* in Tokyo, is an example. His book on postwar plans was published and reviewed by American news outlets.

17. Japan took a distinct turn away from democracy in the 1930s when the country formed "national unity cabinets" in response to political violence and instability. These cabinets shifted power from political parties in favor of the military. Nevertheless, the political system in Japan from the late nineteenth century was intentionally based on "modern" Western models.

18. Kotlowski, "Independence or Not?," 502.

19. FDR to Harold Ickes, 1 July 1941, series 4, box 55, PSF, Roosevelt Library.

20. Alan Barth to Ferdinand Kuhn, 8 August 1941, series 4, box 78, PSF, Roosevelt Library.

21. George Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion in 1935–1971*, vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1972).

22. Casey, *Cautious Crusade*, 29.

23. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Abroad," *New York Times*, 25 February 1942.

24. By the start of World War II the Philippines had commonwealth status and was in transition to independence from the United States.

25. "Post-war Amity with Japan Urged," *New York Times*, 10 April 1945.

26. "Home Affairs: How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs," *Time*, 22 December 1941.

27. Henry Wallace, "The Era of the Pacific," 9 July 1944, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 10 (1944): 583–86.

28. "Chinese Envoy Sees Offensive in Asia," *New York Times*, 8 July 1943.

29. Walter Judd, "What Is the Truth about China? The Great Moral Decision of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese People," 15 March 1945, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 11 (1945): 490–501.

30. As quoted in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, 422.

31. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 38.

32. Chappell, *Before the Bomb*, 98.

33. "Japanese Atrocities to Prisoners of War," 31 January 1944, Doc-No: H.doc.393m, Serial-Volume: 10878 Congress-Session: 78–2 (1944), Sessional-Volume: 14, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection, https://www.lexisnexis.com/help/CU/Overview.htm.

34. "World Battlefronts: The Nature of the Enemy," *Time*, 7 August 1944.

35. For example, reporting on the Cairo Declaration, a *New York Times* journalist explained plans for Japan's disarmament and loss of territory and the rise of China as a world power. "Tokyo's co-prosperity sphere," he wrote, "will be entirely scrapped." And "from the ashes" of Japan's empire a "new and greater China" would rise. C. L. Sulzberger, "Conferences Fixed Shape of World to Come," *New York Times*, 12 December 1943. As noted in chapter 2, Asia experts within the government were not privy to these conference proceedings, so Japan planners received information about international agreements from press reports such as this.

36. FDR to Adolf Berle, 26 June 1941, series 4, box 22, PSF, Roosevelt Library.

37. "Opposes Making Japan an Outcast," *New York Times*, 30 December 1943.

38. The Universities Committee on Post-war International Problems argued that "we must teach Japan not only that aggression does not pay, but that peaceful international collaboration does pay." "Would Readmit Japan," *New York Times*, 9 April 1945.

39. "Grouping of Nations for Peace Proposed," *New York Times*, 11 July 1943, and Russell Porter, "Church Program for Peace Voted," *New York Times*, 20 January 1945.

40. William Chamberlin, "When the Orient Is Set Free," *New York Times*, 17 January 1943, and John Chamberlain, "Books of the Times," *New York Times*, 19 January 1943.

41. John Chamberlain, "Books of the Times," *New York Times*, 21 March 1944.

42. The future president enjoyed a taste of journalism as president of Harvard's student publication, the *Crimson.* Lippmann, though already interested in writing and current affairs, was not invited to join, perhaps because his Jewish background kept him outside some elite social circles. Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 28.

43. "Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann," 5, Columbia Oral History Project, Butler Library, Columbia University.

44. Steel, *Walter Lippmann*, 128–40.

45. In fact, his 1944 book, *U.S. War Aims*, is reminiscent of Luce in its call for an "American destiny" to become the global leader as the inheritor of Western civilization. See Walter Lippmann, *U.S. War Aims* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), 209.

46. See, for example, Walter Lippmann to Senator Borah, 24 February 1939, box 57, folder 258, reel 48, Walter Lippmann Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library; and Senator Vandenberg to Walter Lippmann, 14 December 1944, box 132, folder 2589, reel 93, Walter Lippmann Papers.

47. Stettinius to Lippmann, 30 May 1940, box 103, folder 2001, reel 92, Walter Lippmann Papers; James Byrnes to Walter Lippmann, 30 April 1945, box 59, folder 355, reel 50, Walter Lippmann Papers; Henry L. Stimson to Lippmann, 1 June 1943, box 104, folder 2007, reel 93, Walter Lippmann Papers.

48. Walter Lippmann, as cited in Harry C. McPherson, Jr., "Review of Walter Lippmann and the American Century," *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 1 (Fall 1980): 163–71.

49. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Walter Lippmann, 31 March 1937, box 52, folder 105, reel 42, Walter Lippmann Papers.

50. Walter Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1943), 24.

51. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 31, 11 May 1943 (microfilm ed.), reel 8, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

52. Lippmann, *U.S. War Aims*, 101.

53. Ibid., 105–6.

54. Spykeman, who died in 1943, had been an advocate of balance-of-power arguments in the Council on Foreign Relations' Japan Study Group. Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 171.

55. Surprisingly, Great Britain did not play a major role in postwar East Asia in Lippmann's analysis. However, he does note its value to America as an ally, especially because of its available bases around the world. Lippmann, *U.S. War Aims*, 104.

56. Lippmann cites Lattimore in his discussions of China in both books. Lattimore, a Sinophile blinded to the weakness of Chiang's government, was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, editor of an IPR journal, and a government adviser during the war.

57. Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 154–56.

58. Stanley Hornbeck to Walter Lippmann, 21 February 1942, box 78, folder 1078, reel 68, Walter Lippmann Papers.

59. Walter Lippmann to Edward Stettinius, 2 November 1943, box 103, folder 2001, reel 92, Walter Lippmann Papers; Walter Lippmann to Joseph Grew, 2 May 1944, box 74, folder 928, reel 64, Walter Lippmann Papers.

60. John Foster Dulles to Edward C. Carter, 14 January 1941, box 48, Institute of Pacific Relations Papers, Columbia University. The recommendations of this group were quite similar to those of the IDAFE and were made available to the public through media coverage.

61. Planner response to the Rosinger article is also discussed in Janssen, *What Future for Japan?*, 143. Rosinger, like many wartime China experts, was later questioned by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee about possible communist sympathies. "Obituary, L. K. Rosinger, 78, an Expert on China," *New York Times*, 21 September 1994.

62. Joseph Grew to Vera Dean, 9 August 1943, MS Am 1687 (115), Joseph C. Grew Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

63. The IPR also made these proceedings easily available that year through its publication series, although there is no evidence to indicate that Grew read them. *War and Peace in the Pacific, A Preliminary Report on the Eighth Conference IPR Mont Tremblant 1942* (New York: IPR, 1943).

64. Joseph Grew to James V. Forrestal, 20 September 1943, box 58, James V. Forrestal Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

65. Ahmad, "US Think Tanks," 529.

66. For more on the life of Henry Luce, see the biography by Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century* (New York: Knopf, 2010). An indicator of this

conviction, and its connection to traditional missionary activity, is Luce's role in founding United China Relief in 1939.

67. Michael Hunt, "East Asia in Henry Luce's 'American Century,'" *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 321.

68. Luce kept these response letters, both negative and positive. They make up several folders within his personal papers, box 180, Henry Luce Papers, LoC. His article was read into the *Congressional Record*, 87 Cong. Rec. 1828–31 (1941).

69. Speech of Martin J. Kennedy of New York House of Representatives, 6 March 1941, box 31, Henry Luce Folder, America First Committee Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

70. Henry A. Wallace, "The Price of Free World Victory," *Free World*, June 1942, 12, as cited in White, "The 'American Century' in World History," 115.

71. Robert E. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50.

72. "Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," *Time*, 3 January 1938.

73. *Life* editorial policy made China more familiar to Americans by drawing comparisons with the United States in its articles, referring to key cities with American equivalents—for example, "China's Chicago." Jespersen, *American Images of China*, 39–43.

74. As cited in Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce, Time*, 60. For an orthodox description of Luce's pro-China editorial policy, see Hunt, "East Asia in Henry Luce's 'American Century,'" 326.

75. Pearl S. Buck to Henry Luce, 2 November 1942, box 1, Henry Luce Papers, LoC.

76. Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher*, 294.

77. During the three-day trip, Luce met with Hull, Welles, and Wallace, in addition to Britain's ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax. John K. Jessup, ed., *The Ideas of Henry Luce* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 348–51.

78. Robert E. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century* (New York: Scribner's, 1994), 268.

79. Brinkley, *The Publisher*, 309.

80. John K. Fairbank, "William L. Holland and the IPR in Historical Perspective," *Pacific Affairs* 52, no. 4 (Winter 1979–1980): 590.

81. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce, Time*, 66.

82. Ibid., 65.

83. Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, 7.

84. Index, *Far Eastern Survey* 4, no. 1 (January 1935): 1–10.

85. Fawn M. Brodie's "Peace Planners and the Far East" is typical. *Far Eastern Survey* 12, no. 10 (May 1943): 103.

86. Report on Owen Lattimore, 23 October 1933, box 30, folder 333, RG 1.1, series 200, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

87. Index, *Pacific Affairs* 10, no. 3 (September 1937): 1. Edgar Snow's most famous work, *Red Star over China*, was a best-selling sympathetic portrayal of the Chinese Communist Party published in 1938.

88. Paul F. Hooper, "The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Origins of Asian and Pacific Studies," *Pacific Affairs* 61, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 107.

89. Fairbank, "William L. Holland and the IPR," 590.

90. T.A. Bisson, "The Price of Peace for Japan," *Pacific Affairs* 17, no. 1 (1944): 8–9.

91. M. Searles Bates and Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Future of Japan," *Pacific Affairs* 17, no. 2 (1944): 193–203.

92. Salisbury to Edward Carter, 18 November 1947, box 1, Laurence Salisbury Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

93. Philip Jaffe, *The Amerasia Case* (New York: Philip Jaffe, 1979), 8–13.

94. *The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), 31, 43–53.

95. Excerpt from trustee confidential bulletin, 1 January 1940, box 354, folder 4212, RG 1.1, series 200S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

96. Norma S. Thompson to Edward C. Carter, 10 December 1940, box 60, Edward Clark Carter Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University.

97. Fairbank, "William L. Holland and the IPR," 590.

98. Listed in Paul F. Hooper, *Remembering the Institute of Pacific Relations: The Memoirs of William L. Holland* (Tokyo: Ryukei Shyosha, 1995), 113.

99. These and other IPR series books appear on government reading lists described in Rudolf Janssens, *What Future for Japan?*, 87.

100. E. H. Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2000), 3–4, 10.

101. In the introduction to the sixtieth anniversary reprinting of *Japan's Emergence*, Lawrence Woods makes the case that the work provided "intellectual impetus" to the idea of "completing" the Meiji revolution as a way to pacify Japan. Woods, introduction to Norman, *Japan's Emergence*, xix.

102. Hugh Borton, *Japan since 1931* (IPR: New York, 1940), xi–xii, 93.

103. The book reviewer John Chamberlain used Peffer's points in his own critique of a book advocating harsh peace terms for Japan. Chamberlain, "Books of the Time," *New York Times*, 19 January 1943. Peffer's support for a balance of power in Asia was used to explain why postwar Japan could not be stripped of all military and industrial potential at a forum hosted by the *New York Herald Tribune*. John Aiso, "Japan's Military System Must Be Crushed, Domestic and Economic Reforms Necessary," 17 November 1943, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 10 (1945): 136–38.

104. Peffer continued to question the idea of occupation even as it became an established expectation later in the war. See Nathaniel Peffer, "Occupy Japan?," *Harper's*, April 1944.

105. Nathaniel Peffer, *Basis for Peace in the Far East* (IPR: New York, 1942), 72, 76, 135–36, 171.

106. T. A. Bisson, *America's Far Eastern Policy* (IPR: New York, 1945), 8, 150, 154.

107. List of IPR publications sent to the Office of War Information to be microfilmed, n.d., box 73, IPR Papers.

108. Changes in 1942, as reported to Rockefeller Foundation: Memorandum on IPR Program, 4 February 1942, box 60, IPR Papers.

109. For a brief biographical note on Armstrong, including his connections to New York, see Shoup and Minter, *The Imperial Brain Trust*, 103.

110. Editorial statement, *Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (1922): 1.

111. Clipping from *Newsweek*, 1972, as cited in Priscilla Roberts, "'The Council Has Been Your Creation': Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Paradigm of the American Foreign Policy Establishment?," *Journal of American Studies* 35 (2001): 69.

112. Armstrong to Roosevelt, 1944, as cited in Roberts, "'The Council Has Been Your Creation,'" 71.

113. 1-B-32, "Japanese Reparations (Preliminary)," 16 November 1943, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

114. Roberts, "'The Council Has Been Your Creation,'" 72.

115. Robert Schulzinger, *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs: The History of the Council on Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 59.

116. See, as an example, Armstrong's encouragement to Walter Lippmann to highlight American interests in East Asia, above.

117. Unclear to Hamilton Fish Armstrong, n.d., 1942, box 8, folder 17, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

118. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to George Blakeslee, July 1942, box 8, folder 17, Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers.

119. S. R. Chow, "The Pacific after the War," *Foreign Affairs* 21, no. 1 (1942).

120. Despite these utterly severed relations, Lippmann clipped and saved his old friend's obituary on Armstrong's death in 1973. Box 52, folder 105, reel 42, Walter Lippmann Papers.

121. Steel, *Walter Lippmann*, 363.

122. Bowman to Willits, 23 November 1943, box 99, folder 896, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

123. Schulzinger, *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs*, 251.

124. Cordell Hull to Henry Luce, 5 September 1941, box 2, Henry Luce Papers.

125. Dean Acheson to Lippmann, 31 May 1939, box 50, folder 4, Walter Lippmann Papers; Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 29, 6 February 1943, reel 8, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.

126. Lippmann to William Donovan, 7 April 1939, box 67, folder 629, Walter Lippmann Papers.

127. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg to Henry Luce, 20 December 1943, box 3, Henry Luce Papers.

128. Henry L. Stimson to Lippmann, 25 November 1940, box 104, folder 2007; and James Forrestal to Walter Lippmann, 19 February 1942, box 71, folder 794, Walter Lippmann Papers.

129. Memorandum of conversation, Walter Lippmann and Joseph Grew, 17 May 1944, MS Am 1687.3 (6), Mem cons. (1944), Joseph C. Grew Papers.

130. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 31, 11 May 1943.

131. Alice Jaymon to Walter Lippmann, 27 July 1943, box 79, folder 1123, reel 69, Walter Lippmann Papers.

132. John Foster Dulles to Henry Luce, 8 March 1943, box 1, Henry Luce Papers; Walter Mallory to Henry Luce, 25 March 1944, box 33, Henry Luce Papers.

133. Archibald MacLeish to Henry Luce, 27 August and 9 September 1941, box 2, Henry Luce Papers.

134. Archibald MacLeish to Henry Luce, 11 January 1943, box 2, Henry Luce Papers.

135. John D. Rockefeller to Henry Luce, 4 March 1943, box 1, Henry Luce Papers.

136. Hamilton Fish Armstrong to Norman H. Davis, box 2, Norman H. Davis Papers, LoC.

137. Walter Lippmann to James Byrnes, 23 August 1945, box 59, folder 355, reel 50, Walter Lippmann Papers.

138. Jonathan Alter, *The Promise: President Obama, Year One* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 140.

5. SUCKER NATION AND SANTA CLAUS

1. This perceived lesson is the meaning of the title given to Robert Divine's *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America during World War II*.

2. As a sign that both the State Department and Congress had the previous conflict in mind, in 1942 State provided Congress with more than six hundred pages of collected documents on postwar planning and peace negotiations from World War I as background in preparation for resolving the current conflict. Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, "The Paris Peace Conference, 1919," Serial Set Digital Collection, Department of State, 1942, 10699 Congress-Session: 77–2 (1942), Sessional-Volume: 20, S1.1:919/pt.3/v.1, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

3. In the case of the executive, Franklin Roosevelt, an Ivy League-educated New York native, was unquestionably part of the East Coast elite. Harry Truman, who rose from

the ranks of the Senate in 1945 and imagined himself an outsider in Washington, fit more neatly into this characterization of Congress.

4. This definition is adapted from Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935–1941* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1990), vii. It is distinct from other related movements such as noninterventionism and pacifism. Support for isolationism did not preclude support for military action abroad per se but rather the avoidance of "entangling commitments" that would limit America's ability to take unilateral action or commit the country to actions not in its interest.

5. The "great debate" refers to the struggle between isolation and intervention in US foreign policy that raged in the popular media and in Congress between the outbreak of war in Europe and the bombing of Pearl Harbor. For a useful overview of the literature on this topic, see Justus Doenecke, "U.S. Policy and the European War, 1939–1941," *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 669–98.

6. For more on the formation of America First, see Wayne S. Cole, *America First—The Battle against Intervention 1940–1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), 10–16.

7. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 381.

8. House Resolution 117, 27 February 1941, box 31, Henry Luce Folder, America First Committee Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

9. Speech of Martin J. Kennedy of New York House of Representatives, 6 March 1941, box 31, Henry Luce Folder, America First Committee Papers.

10. The term is borrowed from a letter sent by an isolationist congressman to Roosevelt warning that the British would make America "the prime sucker Nation of the world again" if it became involved in European affairs. James O'Connor to FDR, 6 May 1941, reel 7, FDR Office Files, part 4, RSC. For more on the "Devil theory," which blamed bankers for America's involvement in the Great War, see Jonas, *Isolationism in America*, 142–44.

11. In 1933, Roosevelt announced his Good Neighbor Policy to increase US trade and nonmilitary influence in Latin America.

12. Hugh S. Johnson, "Anchors Away," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 October 1940.

13. Ludwell Denny, "Japanese Become Main Fear of U.S.," *Washington News*, 28 January 1941.

14. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 498.

15. Ibid., 499.

16. Hamilton Fish report, 4 March 1941, reel 7, FDR Office Files, part 4.

17. Transcript, "Is This Our War?," radio discussion, 12 January 1941, box 36, America First Committee Papers.

18. A letter from W. Cameron Forbes, former US ambassador to Japan, provides a particularly clear example of this type of thinking. "The Japanese people," he wrote, "understand force and force only. Argument drops off them like the pattering of rain on a tin roof." W. Cameron Forbes to Thomas Wickam, 5 October 1945, box 50, Frank R. McCoy Papers, LoC.

19. As an example of the public pressure on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for tough economic measures toward Japan, see constituent letters to Senator Walter L. George, chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, box 174, RG 46, Records of US Senate, 77th Congress, SEN 77A-F11, Committee on Foreign Relations, NARA.

20. Arthur Vandenberg, *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 17–18; "Japan's Peace Terms, Fourth Meeting," March 1942, US in the Far East Series, box 1, 1940–1948, Royal Institute for International Affairs, Far East Department Papers, SOAS.

21. Vandenberg, *The Private Papers*, 18 (emphasis in original).

22. For more on Roosevelt's campaign promise, see Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II* (Simon & Schuster: New York, 1994), 187–88.

23. Copy of memorandum by Charles Edison, 14 June 1940, reel 41, FDR Office Files, part 4.

24. David Walsh to Franklin Roosevelt, 19 August 1940, reel 41, FDR Office Files, part 4.

25. 76 Cong. Rec. 72 (1939).

26. Correspondence between Senator Charles Tobey and FDR, 14 and 17 February 1941, reel 41, FDR Office Files, part 4.

27. Franklin Roosevelt to Joseph Grew, 21 January 1941, box 3, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

28. Speech of Arthur H. Vandenberg in the Senate of the United States, 10 January 1945, box 141, folder 3, MC no. 051, James V. Forrestal Papers, Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

29. Franklin Roosevelt's press conference, 17 December 1940, http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/odllpc2.html.

30. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 11.

31. State of the Nation Annual Message to Congress, 6 January 1941, http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3320.

32. FBI memorandum, as cited in Douglas M. Charles, "Informing FDR: FBI Political Surveillance and the Isolationist-Interventionist Foreign Policy Debate, 1939–1945," *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 226.

33. The wife of Senator Wheeler, for example, was a prominent member of the America First Committee.

34. Extension of remarks of Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota in the Senate, 24 March 1941, box 33, America First Committee Papers.

35. Barry Bingham to FDR, 5 November 1941, box 88, reel 41, Henry A. Wallace Papers, RSC.

36. Wallace to FDR, 26 May 1941, box 88, reel 41, Henry A. Wallace Papers.

37. Specifically, conservative Democrats wanted Henry Wallace dropped from the 1940 election ticket. FDR to George Norris, 21 July 1940, reel 41, FDR Office Files, part 4.

38. Hamilton Fish report, 4 March 1941.

39. "His Birthright for a Mess of Pottage," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 September 1941.

40. Charles, "Informing FDR," 221–25.

41. Jonas, *Isolationism in America*, 221.

42. Robert Taft, as quoted in George Schild, "The Roosevelt Administration and the United Nations: Recreation or Rejection of the League Experience?," *World Affairs* 158, no. 1 (1995): 28.

43. "National Defense Migration. Part 31: Los Angeles and San Francisco Hearings: Problems of Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones," 6, 7, and 12 March 1942, Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Select, House, Digital Collection, CIS-NO: 77 H962–6-A, microfiche group 3, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

44. Congressman Everis Hayes wrote a letter to the league secretary congratulating him on its accomplishments in excluding Asians from America. E. A. Hayes to A. E. Yoell, 1 May 1906, San Francisco City Museum, http://www.sfmuseum.org/1906.2/invasion.html.

45. "Custody of Japanese Residing in the United States," 18 June 1942, Committee on Immigration, Senate, Serial-Volume: 10658 Congress-Session: 77–2 (1942), Sessional-Volume: 4, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

46. Memorandum of conversation with Chancellor Hitler, 8 March 1934, as quoted in Larson, *In the Garden of Beasts*, 235.

47. "Custody of Japanese Residing in the United States," 18 June 1942.

48. "National Defense Migration. Part 31: Los Angeles and San Francisco Hearings," 6, 7, and 12 March 1942.

49. One might wonder whether all Asians might be a danger under this logic. Indeed, in 1941 *Time* responded with a checklist of racial characteristics to help readers distinguish between Japanese and "your friends" the Chinese. "Home Affairs: How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs," *Time*, 22 December 1941.

50. For example, "Olson Wants All Japs Moved," *San Francisco News*, 6 March 1942.

51. Congressional hearings and media coverage on Japanese internment and Chinese immigration often cited the "fact" that Chinese, Japanese, and Latin Americans were racially adept at "squatting," the physically demanding task of picking vegetables that grow low to the ground.

52. "Hearing to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts and to Establish Quotas for Chinese Immigration," 2 November 1943, Committee on Immigration, Senate, Digital Collection, CIS-NO: 78 SIm-T.2, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

53. "Hearing on Financial Aid to China," 5 February 1942, Committee on Foreign Relations, Senate, CIS-NO: 77 SFo-T.2, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

54. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, "Fighting for Same Cause, We Must Act to Implement our Ideals," 18 February 1943, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 9 (1943): 303.

55. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, "Japan Is First U.S. Foe, More Aid to China," 18 February 1943, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 9 (1943): 301–3.

56. "Hearing on Financial Aid to China," 5 February 1942.

57. Lauchlin Currie to John Carter Vincent, 14 February 1942, box 1, Lauchlin Currie Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

58. "Hearing on Financial Aid to China," 5 February 1942.

59. 89 Cong. Rec. 7830 (1943).

60. Judd, "What Is the Truth about China?," 490–501.

61. Nathaniel Peffer, "Our Distorted View of China," *N.Y. Times Magazine*, 7 November 1943, 39.

62. Judd, "What Is the Truth about China?"

63. "Mike Mansfield: Quiet Leadership in Troubled Times," Senate Historical Office, http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/People_Leaders_Mansfield.htm. Mansfield's master's thesis, "American Diplomatic Relations with Korea, 1866–1910," is incorrectly listed as a PhD dissertation in the Bibliographical Directory of the United States Congress, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

64. Truman's thinking on China and Russia is covered in chapter 6. Consultation between Truman and Mansfield is described in Hellegers, *We the Japanese People*, 1:150n76.

65. Michael J. Mansfield, "China's Problems, Only One Man Capable of Uniting China," 16 January 1945, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 11 (1945): 249–55.

66. Judd, "What Is the Truth about China?"

67. Speech of Martin J. Kennedy of New York House of Representatives, 6 March 1941.

68. Congressional Record, 22 August 1944, as cited in Roland Young, *Congressional Politics in the Second World War* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1956), 193.

69. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 155, 29 June 1943 (microfilm ed.), reel 8, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

70. "Christian Bases of Peace," address by Henry A. Wallace, 8 March 1943, World War II Era Records of the World Council of Churches, Princeton Theological Seminary, Luce Library, Princeton University.

71. "Prevention of Future Aggression and the Maintenance of Peace," House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8 June 1943, Selected Executive Session

Hearings of the Committee, 1943–50: Vol. 1, Problems of World War II and Its Aftermath, Part 1, LexisNexis Congressional Hearings Digital Collection.

72. "U.S. at War: The Great Debate," *Time*, 12 July 1943.

73. "Prevention of Future Aggression and the Maintenance of Peace."

74. Howard J. McMurray, "Freedom from Fear, Remove the Root Cause of War," delivered at a "Win the Peace" rally, Carnegie Hall, New York City, 12 September 1943, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 10 (1943): 87–89.

75. Oral history interview with Dr. Walter H. Judd by Jerry N. Hess, 13 April 1970, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/judd.htm. This source includes Judd's account of Truman's thinking on B2H2 and observations of the future president on the tour.

76. Burton K. Wheeler, "Senator Wheeler States His Views," *New York Times*, 6 June 1943.

77. "U.S. at War: The Great Debate."

78. "Obituary: Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Part 6 of 8," *New York Times*, 13 April 1945.

79. "U.S. at War: The Great Debate," and Robert David Johnson, *Congress and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

80. Henrietta McCormick Hill, *A Senator's Wife Remembers: From the Great Depression to the Great Society* (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2010), 168–69.

81. Johnson, *Congress and the Cold War*, 1–3. Mrs. Hill recalls the switch from B2H2 to the Connally resolution differently. In her estimation, the switch was made at the insistence of the other senators in spite of Connally. Hill, *A Senator's Wife Remembers*, 169.

82. The Connally resolution, Senate Resolution 192, Seventy-Eighth Congress, 5 November 1943, in *Pillars of Peace, Documents Pertaining to American Interest in Establishing a Lasting World Peace*: *January 1941–February 1946* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Army Information School, 1946).

83. 89 Cong. Rec. 7830 (1943).

84. The issue of Allied seizure of Japan's island mandates for use as bases was discussed at international conferences during the war. See Bohlen minutes, Roosevelt-Stalin meeting," 29 November 1943, in *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 532, and Minutes of a meeting of the Pacific War Council, 12 January 1944, in *FRUS: Cairo and Tehran*, 868.

85. "Take Mandates Islands Away from Japs after War, Tydings Urges U.S.," *Star*, 14 October 1943.

86. "House Set Course on Pacific Policy," *New York Times*, 9 March 1944.

87. He did not know, however, that Chiang Kai-Shek had rejected Roosevelt's offer of the Ryukyus at Cairo.

88. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

89. 90 Cong. Rec. 7074–7075 (1944).

90. "U.S. at War: Brotherly Greed," *Time*, 28 August 1944.

91. 2-B-167, "SWNCCFE Meeting No. 186," 26 January 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

92. James Byrnes to Franklin Roosevelt, 23 March 1945, FDR Office Files, part 4.

93. "President Roosevelt's Message to Congress on the State of the Nation," *New York Times*, 6 January 1945.

94. James F. Byrnes to Franklin Roosevelt, 23 March 1945.

95. Arthur Vandenberg, "The Need for Honest Candor, Clarification of Our Foreign Policy," 10 January 1945, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 11 (1945): 226–30.

96. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Abroad," *New York Times*, 5 February 1945.

97. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

98. Arthur Crock, "The Nation—Constructive Moves in Foreign Policy," *New York Times*, 10 January 1945. Vandenberg read this article into the *Congressional Record*. Speech

of Arthur H. Vandenberg in the Senate of the United States, 10 January 1945, box 141, folder 3, MC no.051, James V. Forrestal Papers.

99. McMurray, "Freedom from Fear," 87.

100. 89 Cong. Rec. 1342–1347 (1943).

101. McMurray, "Freedom from Fear."

102. Vandenberg, "The Need for Honest Candor,"226.

103. Wheeler, "Senator Wheeler States His Views."

104. Hellegers, *We, the Japanese People*, 1:150.

105. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

106. 90 Cong. Rec. 929–931 (1944).

107. 90 Cong. Rec. 869–873 (1944).

108. Ibid.

109. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

110. The importance of this speech in setting out the ideas of former isolationists is demonstrated by its redistribution. For example, James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, had five copies of the speech in his papers. La Follette Jr. speech on framing peace, 31 May 1945, box 139, folder 7, James V. Forrestal Papers.

111. 89 Cong. Rec. 1342–1347 (1943).

112. Robert Taft, "A Post-War Peace Organization of Nations: Are Administrative Foreign Policies Making Formation Difficult?," 6 May 1944, *Vital Speeches of the Day* 10 (1944): 492–95.

113. "Raising the National Debt Limit to One Third of a Trillion," *American Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1945).

114. Warren Moscow, "Dulles Says Goal Is Basic Unity Here on Plan for World," *New York Times*, 20 August 1944.

115. Address delivered at an American First Committee meeting by Charles A Lindbergh, 10 May 1941, box 1, America First Committee Papers.

116. Political Planning Committee memorandum, "The Problem of Security," undated [1943], Political Planning Committee folder, box 146, Notter Files, NARA, as cited in Schild, "The Roosevelt Administration and the United Nations," 33.

6. READY OR NOT

1. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, undated in 1946 (one of two), box 281, PSF, Papers of Harry S. Truman, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library.

2. Robert Ferrell, ed., *Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 15–16. The weather information is gathered from the National Weather Service Forecast Office, http://www.erh.noaa.gov/lwx/Historic_Events/Inauguration/Inauguration.html.

3. By contrast, FDR received an elite and cosmopolitan upbringing as part of a wealthy and well-connected family. As a boy, he greatly admired his cousin President Teddy Roosevelt. His education included trips to Europe and schooling at Groton and Harvard.

4. Dean Acheson interview, 17 February 1955, box 641, Memoirs File, Post Presidential Files, Papers of Harry S. Truman.

5. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 30, 13 April 1945 (microfilm ed.), reel 8, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University; and Harry Truman to Ambassador Hurley, 12 May 1945, reel 2, Map Room Messages of Harry Truman, RSC.

6. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 95, 13 March 1944, reel 8, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.

7. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 30, 13 April 1945.

8. Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 4:1548.

9. General Marshall, as quoted in Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 30, 13 April 1945.
10. Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries, 30, 13 April 1945.
11. Bishop, *FDR's Last Year*, 633.
12. Ed. R. Stettinius to Mr. Connelly, 13 April 1945, box 138, PSF: Cabinet File, Papers of Harry S. Truman.
13. Joseph Grew to Harry Truman, 27 April 1945, reel 15, Truman Office Files, part 3, RSC.
14. The OSS would evolve into the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) later in Truman's presidency. For more on the OSS and postwar transition, see Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: O.S.S. and the Origins of the C.I.A* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
15. William J. Donovan, memorandum for the President, 5 May 1945, box 9, SMOF, Papers of Harry S. Truman.
16. Correspondence between Owen Lattimore and Harry Truman, 10, 14 and 20 June, 1945, box 28, folder 1, Owen Lattimore Papers, LoC.
17. Owen Lattimore to Dale Hellegers, 10 March 1980, box 4, Papers of Dale M. Hellegers, Truman Library.
18. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 5 June 1945, box 281, PSF.
19. Protocol of proceedings of Crimea Conference, 11 February 1945, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/yalta.asp.
20. Costigliola, *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances*, 316.
21. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 7 June 1945, box 281, PSF.
22. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 23 May 1945, box 281, PSF.
23. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 7 June 1945, box 281, PSF.
24. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 1 June 1945, box 281, PSF.
25. Dean Acheson interview, 17 February 1955.
26. Hellegers, *We, the Japanese People*, 1:150n76. Mansfield's ideas on China are described in the previous chapter.
27. Dean Acheson interview, 17 February 1955.
28. Memorandum of conference with the President, 18 April 1945 (microfilm ed.), reel 128, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.
29. The SWNCC 150 draft documents are available online at http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/022shoshi.html.
30. Borton, *American Presurrender Planning*, 29.
31. 5-C-8, "SC-138," 23 June 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*
32. Walter Lippmann believed he made an enemy of Edward Stettinius for publishing opinion pieces to this effect. Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann, 263, Columbia Oral History Project, Butler Library, Columbia University.
33. Joseph Grew to Brooks Emeny, 5 July 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), letters 1945, Joseph C. Grew Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
34. Michael Pearlman, *Unconditional Surrender, Demobilization, and the Atomic Bomb* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, 1996), 13.
35. Hellegers, *We the Japanese People*, 1: 8.
36. 4-C-8, "JWPC 264/8," 10 August 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*
37. Notes from index, in Iokibe, *The Occupation*, vi.
38. William G. Hyland, "John J. McCloy, 1895–1989," *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 1–2.
39. Memorandum by Senator Warren R. Austin, 20 August 1945, reprinted in Thomas Patterson, "Potsdam, the Atomic Bomb, and the Cold War: A Discussion with James F. Byrnes," *Pacific Historical Review* 41, no. 2 (May 1972): 228.
40. 1-B-1, [June 1945], in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*
41. Herzstein, *Luce*, 49–50.

42. 5-A-31, "MacLeish to Secretary of State," 6 July 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

43. Hellegers, *We the Japanese People*, 1:xi.

44. Moore and Robinson, *Partners for Democracy*, 25–27.

45. "Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender Issued at Potsdam," 26 July 1945, http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html.

46. A useful overview of this literature can be found in Campbell Craig and Sergey Radchenko, *The Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

47. Borton, *American Presurrender Planning*, 30.

48. Mark Seldon estimates 137,582 casualties resulted from bombings of Tokyo alone in the ten months between December 1944 and August 1945. Selden, "A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities and the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq," *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 5, no. 5 (May 2007): 1–30.

49. "Potsdam Notes," 19–20, [July 1945] (microfilm ed.), reel 128, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.

50. Sean L. Malloy, "'A Very Pleasant Way to Die': Radiation Effects and the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb against Japan," *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 3 (June 2012): 520, 544.

51. For a survey of literature on the use of the bomb, see J. Samuel Walker, "Recent Literature on Truman's Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground," *Diplomatic History* 29, no. 2 (April 2005): 97–114.

52. Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy*, 182.

53. This death toll figure covers August and September 1945 and is from the United Nations education website. The source puts the total figure, including deaths from abnormal cancers caused by radiation, at two hundred thousand. http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/dnp/sub2.asp?ipage=hiroshimanagasaki.

54. For example, Truman noted in his diary that the Japanese might be "savages, ruthless, merciless and fanatic." As quoted in Eduard Mark, "'Today Has Been a Historical One': Harry S. Truman's Diary of the Potsdam Conference," *Diplomatic History* 4, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 324. See also Dower, *War without Mercy*, for an account of the impact of racism and rhetoric on the conduct of the war.

55. Ferrell, *Off the Record*, 52.

56. Correspondence between Richard Russell Jr. and Harry S. Truman, 7 and 9 August 1945, Student Research File: Collection "The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan," http://www.trumanlibrary.org/bfiles.htm.

57. This assessment—that confronted with the options of atomic warfare and bloody land invasion, Truman simply chose the lesser of two evils—is shared by Miscamble, *From Roosevelt to Truman*, chap. 6.

58. Correspondence between Richard Russell and Harry S. Truman, 7 and 9 August 1945.

59. Herzstein, *Luce*, 49–50.

60. Cited in Dower, *War without Mercy*, 54.

61. "G-2 Estimate of Enemy Situation," May 1945, RG 4, reel 596, in *General Douglas MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library Collection* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), microform.

62. "Basic Outline Plan for 'Blacklist' Operations," ed. no. 3, 8 August 1945, RG 4, reel 607, *General Douglas MacArthur Memorial Archives.*

63. Bhuta, "The Antimonies of Transformative Occupation," 734.

64. 4-C-8, "Leahy to Truman," 6 July 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

65. SWNCC 150/2, 12 August 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

66. Janssens, *What Future for Japan?*, 363.

67. Edwin M. Martin, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948).

68. Janssens, *What Future for Japan?*, 364.

69. JCS 1380/15, 3 November 1945, http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/036/036tx.html

70. PWC 108, "Japan: The Postwar Objectives of the United States in regard to Japan," 14 March 1944 (final version of four), in Iokibe, *The Occupation*.

71. Eiji Takamae, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 227–29.

72. Joseph Grew to Ed Stettinius, 18 August 1945, MS Am 1687 (123), letters 1945, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

73. Ibid.

74. Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann, 229–30.

75. James Byrnes to Joseph Grew, 22 August 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), letters 1945, Joseph C. Grew Papers; and Memorandum for the secretary, 7 August 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), letters, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

76. Moore and Robinson, *Partners for Democracy*, 33.

77. Dean Acheson interview, 16 February 1955, box 641, Memoirs File, Post Presidential Files, Papers of Harry S. Truman.

78. Hellegers, *We, the Japanese People*, 1:xii, and Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal* (New York: Free Press, 1987).

79. Notes on cabinet meeting, 7 September 1945, box 1, Papers of Matthew J. Connelly, Truman Library.

80. Memorandum of conference with the President, 8 August 1945 (microfilm ed.), reel 128, Henry Lewis Stimson Papers.

81. Hellegers, *We the Japanese People*, 2:387nn 138 and 140. Rudolph Janssens, who refers to this paper as the "Van Slyke Document," was not aware of this connection with existing planners and considers the document to be "alternative policy for postwar Japan" adopted by Stimson. *What Future for Japan*, 355n72.

82. Memorandum for the President, Chief of Staff, War Department, [June 1945], reel 13, Truman Office Files, part 3, RSC.

83. 5-C-8, "SC-138," 23 June 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

84. 4-C-15, "JWPC 385/1," 16 August 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

85. 4-C-5, "Forwarding SWNCC70/2 to the Joint Chiefs of Staff," 25 June 1945, Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

86. 4-C-16, "SWNCC 70/5," 18 August 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

87. 5-B-7, "Memorandum for the Secretary of War," 12 May 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

88. Gallicchio, "The Kuriles Controversy."

89. See, for example, "With Visit, Russia Reinforces Its Custody of Islands, Angering Japan," *New York Times*, 1 November 2010.

90. Walter Mallory to Joseph Willits, 4 January 1945, box 97, folder 877, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

91. Roger Evans to Joseph Willits, 24 September 1945, box 97, folder 877, RG 1.1, series 100S, Rockefeller Foundation Papers.

92. William C. Johnstone, *The Future of Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), as quoted in T. A. Bisson, "How to Keep Peace in the Pacific," *New York Times*, 2 September 1945.

93. Bisson, "How to Keep Peace."

94. "The Occupation of Japan Economic Policy and Reform," in *The Proceedings of a Symposium Sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial April 13–15, 1978*, ed. Lawrence H. Redford (Norfolk, VA: MacArthur Memorial, 1980).

95. Steven Schwartzberg, "Worf Ladejinsky, the Japan Hands and the Political Background of the Japanese Land Reform," 26 October 1990. Student Research File: "Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952," MHDC 698.

96. Grew to McCoy, 16 November 1945, box 50, Frank McCoy Papers, LoC.

97. The quote is from Sidney Shallet, "Our Policy toward Japan Is Examined Anew," *New York Times*, 23 September 1945.

98. 91 Cong. Rec. 8883–8916, 24 September 1945.

99. Marshall to Macarthur, [September 1945], RG 30, reel 1007, MacArthur Archives.

100. 91 Cong. Rec. 8883–8916 (1945).

101. James Byrnes to Tom Connally, 5 November 1945, box 112, Committee on Foreign Relations, 79th Cong., SEN 79A-F10, RG 46, Records of U.S. Senate, NARA.

102. 91 Cong. Rec. 4308 (1945).

103. 91 Cong. Rec. 8883–8916 (1945).

104. As noted elsewhere in this work, there is a rich and well-established body of literature on the occupation of Japan by historians such as Michael Schaller, John Dower, Eiji Takamae, and others. Takamae's *Inside GHQ* is particularly strong on the political wrangling inside the occupation administration. The period will receive only a brief treatment here.

105. Ulrich A. Straus interview by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 1992, in *Frontline Diplomacy: The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/diplomacy.

106. Interview with Max W. Bishop by Dale M. Hellegers, 21 May 1973, box 1, Papers of Dale M. Hellegers, Truman Library. Alexis U. Johnson, American consul in Japan, noted the same effect later in the period. Oral History Interview with Alexis U. Johnson, 19 June 1975, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/johnsona.htm.

107. Oral interview with Henri H. Smith-Hutton by Captain Paul Ryan, 24 October 1974, box 1, Henri H. Smith-Hutton Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

108. Joseph Grew to Max Bishop, 28 October 1945, MS Am 1687 (121), letters 1945, Joseph C. Grew Papers.

109. Interview with Max W. Bishop by Dale M. Hellegers.

110. Shallet, "Our Policy toward Japan."

111. The term SCAP referred to both General MacArthur and the general headquarters of the occupation authorities in Tokyo.

112. Harry S. Truman longhand notes, 17 June 1945, box 281, PSF.

113. Hiroshi Matsuda, *MacArthur in Asia: The General and His Staff in the Philippines, Japan, and Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 186–87.

114. Marshall to MacArthur, 25 July 1945, RG 4, reel 595, MacArthur Archives.

115. MacArthur to Marshall, 14 May 1945, RG 4, reel 595, MacArthur Archives.

116. Grew to MacArthur, 22 August 45, MS Am 1687 (122), Joseph C. Grew Papers.

117. Cameron Forbes to Thomas Wickham, 5 October 1945, box 50, Frank R. McCoy Papers.

118. Grew to Truman, 30 April 1945, part 2, reel 16, Truman Office Files, RSC.

119. Moore and Robinson, *Partners for Democracy*, 4.

120. Andrew Preston dedicates a chapter to Dulles and the Council of World Churches in his book *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 2012).

121. 91 Cong. Rec. 4308 (1945).

122. Interview with Edwin O. Reischauer by Dale M. Hellegers, 12 February 1973, box 5, Papers of Dale M. Hellegers.

123. This detail irked staff members, who frequently cite it as an example of the troubled relationship between SCAP and Washington. Individuals worked around this

restriction by sending addressed letters via pouch. Interview with Hugh Borton by Dale M. Hellegers, 9 and 14 February 1973, box 1, Papers of Dale M. Hellegers.

124. Ibid.

125. Ballantine memoir, 252, box 1, Joseph Ballantine Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

126. "U.S. Policy in regard to Japan," [no month] 1949, box 73, Frank McCoy Papers.

CONCLUSION

1. For example, Michael Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), and Howard Schonberger, *Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945–1952* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989).

2. The term "reverse course" was used in Japanese newspapers from 1951 to describe the wider disappointment of Japanese liberals with postwar Japan. Young American scholars of the New Left school adopted this term for their more specific meaning twenty years later. Takamae, *Inside GHQ*, 473.

3. "United States Policy in regard to Japan, Far Eastern Commission," n.d., box 73, Frank R. McCoy Papers, LoC.

4. Hellegers, *We, the Japanese People*, 1:169.

5. 4-C-6, "Occupation of Japan and Japanese-Held Territories after Collapse or Defeat of Japan," 26 June 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

6. 4-C-11, "Over-all Examination of Planning for the Occupation of Japan," 10 August 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

7. 3-E-1, "Robert Eichelberger Diaries," 19 August–10 September 1945, in Iokibe, *The Occupation.*

8. Ibid.

9. Christopher Aldous, "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945–52," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 17, no. 4 (2010): 230–56.

10. Edwin W. Pauley draft diary, 11 May 1946, box 2, Edwin W. Pauley Papers, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library.

11. Ulrich A. Straus interview by Charles Stuart Kennedy, 1992, in *Frontline Diplomacy.*

12. Peter Magagna to C. P. Echols, August 1, 1946; OF 197-B; Allied Control Council for Japan; Truman Papers; Student Research File: collection "Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952," Truman Library.

13. Notes on cabinet meeting, 8 March 1946, box 1, Papers of Matthew J. Connelly, Truman Library.

14. Eugene Dooman to Colonel Truman Martin, 12 January 1944, box 1, Eugene Dooman Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

15. 90 Cong. Rec. 3798–3802 (1944).

16. See Ed Kilgore, "American Exceptionalism," *Washington Monthly*, 4 July 2013.

17. Edmund Wilson, *The Forties*, ed. Leon Edel (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1983), 44–45.

18. Charles S. Maier, "Targeting the City: Debates and Silences about the Aerial Bombing of World War II," *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no. 859 (September 2005): 434.

19. Ferrell, *Off the Record*, 52.

20. Wilson, *The Forties*, 43.

21. William Blakefield, "The War Within: The Making of Know Your Enemy—Japan," *Sight and Sound* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 130.

22. John Dower has written several articles since 2003 comparing America in Iraq with his view of the occupation of Japan. See Dower, "A Warning from History," *Boston Review*, January 2003, http://bostonreview.net/world/john-w-dower-warning-history.

23. Moore and Robinson, *Partners for Democracy*, 15. The term "good occupation" is borrowed from Yoshiro Miwa and Mark Ramseyer, "The Good Occupation" (Harvard Law and Economics Discussion Paper No. 514, May 2005).

24. James Dobbins, John G. McGinn, Keith Crane et al., *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2003), xii.

25. See Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982). Other major works on the causes of Japan's postwar economic boom include Aaron Forsberg, *America and the Japanese Miracle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and Meredith Woo-Cumings, *The Developmental State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

26. Jason Sheltzer, "Sunni or Shia? A Costly Ignorance," *Daily Princetonian*, 13 December 2006.

27. Bhuta, "The Antinomies of Transformative Occupation," 739–40.

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